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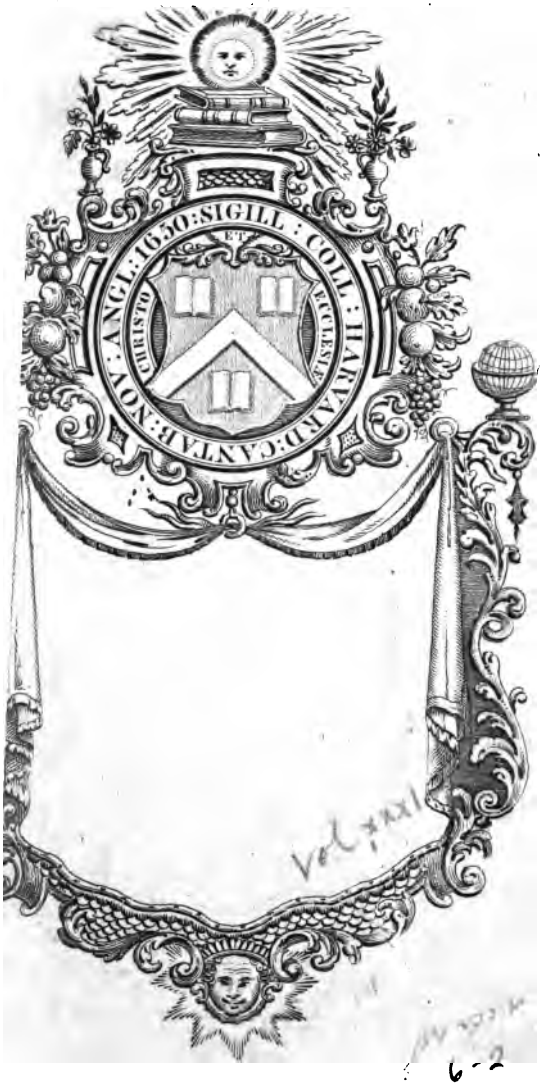

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

SEPTEMBER, 1840.

Art. I. — Miracles as an Evidence of Christianity; an Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference, in Berry Street, Boston, May 27th, 1840. By David Damon.*

I propose to address you, at this time, Fathers and Brethren in the Christian Ministry, upon the subject of the Christian Miracles — particularly in their character of an evidence of Christianity as a revelation from God. "The present aspect of Theology amongst us" † must be my apology for the adoption of a subject which might otherwise be deemed but ill suited to the occasion of a Pastoral Conference.

By miracles, I understand something more than the derivation of the term implies, that is, more than simply *wonderful works*, namely, *such* wonderful works as have been commonly supposed, by believers in Christianity, to be wrought by the special aid and interposition of God. It is to this class of wonderful works, if I mistake not, that the application of the term miracles is generally restricted. By the Christian miracles, I understand those, and only those, of which we find the record in the New Testament.

How do men know that, among all the wonderful works

* We are happy to be permitted by the author to lay this Address before our readers. — Ed.

† This was the subject of the Address, assigned by the Standing Committee of the Conference.

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which have been wrought in men's view, there are some which were wrought by the particular aid and interposition of God? This is the first question which presents itself to us in entering upon this subject.

Men do *not* know this as certainly as they do that they themselves exist — that two added to two are equal to four — that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles — that of two fruit trees, which are in view at a few paces before them, one is taller than the other — that is, strictly speaking, they do not *know* this at all. But men so *judge* and *believe* of certain wonderful works, presenting certain characteristics, and not of other works, though truly wonderful, which are wanting in some or all of the same certain characteristics.

Men judge and believe certain wonderful works to be wrought by the particular aid and interposition of God, because the works seem manifestly to transcend human power, and the power of all beings of whom they have any knowledge or distinct apprehension, save God alone. The works differ also from all the usual and known results of the operations of the laws of nature, so called. They stand out by themselves, as the wide and fair creation did, at the blest primeval hour, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. They are also, for the most part certainly, beneficent in their nature and consequences. They are not trivial, intricate puzzles, of hard solution, and without a grand, useful, or permanent result, when exhibited and solved; but they are morally sublime, commonly in the proceeding, always in the result. The declared purpose for which they are wrought, when declaration is made of it, is worthy of the works themselves. Declaration is also often made by the doer of these works, that they are wrought by the power of God; and the doer should be supposed to know more concerning this point than the mere witness; not to insist that his general character and other words and deeds may go to confirm his credibility.

For these and other like reasons, men, that is, some men, many men, in the exercise of their common sense and sober judgment, after careful and scrutinizing observation, believe the works to be done by the almighty power and special interposition of God, while of other works, wanting some or many of these characteristics, they have not the same belief. The common mind is so constituted as to believe in view of the

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supposed phenomena; and therefore so it does believe in fact. Unbelief is the exception, belief the general rule or result, in the instances given.

The question concerning the agency and power by which miracles are wrought is a question concerning beliefs and the grounds for them, not concerning knowledge, demonstration, or intuition. The moment absolute knowledge begins, there is an end of belief properly so called. Something different — not perhaps stronger, or better, or more efficacious practically — but something *different* has come instead of belief. You may persuade a man out of his belief into another belief, by strong reasons, but you cannot persuade him out of his knowledge into another knowledge. If he *knows*, there is an end of reasoning and faith. Hence an atheist, while he remains an atheist, cannot believe in miracles, in the sense in which I use the term, though he may believe in wonderful works as matters of fact; and may even profess to believe that, in reality, there is no wonder in wonderful works. Hence also an ignorant believer in the semi-almighty power of Beelzebub may possibly believe that Beelzebub did the works, which, if there be any Beelzebub, Beelzebub cannot do. But it does not hence follow that men of good common sense, capable of just observation and comparison, and believers in one God, should not believe, and have not sufficient grounds for believing, just what they do believe, — that the works, which they consider as specially God's works, were wrought by his power, and wrought for the ends specified and declared by the subordinate agents and doers.

But it is objected — "All we actually see is the work alone." Well, are we to draw no inference from what we see? Can reason and faith extend no further than actual vision? So thought not a certain one of the New Testament writers. He says, "faith is the evidence of things *not* seen." For myself, when I see a man violently beating a horse, I see that the horse is beaten; but I *infer* something more, namely, that the man beating is violently, and probably is unreasonably angry. The old homely proverb "Seeing is believing," if taken literally, is essentially an untruth. The operations of seeing and believing are not identical, but distinct and different. I not only may, but I must draw inferences from what I see; and I am yet to learn, that I and many of those who differ from me in present opinion concerning miracles, should not draw the same

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inferences, especially as it respects the power by which they are wrought, if we could be made eye witnesses of their actual performance.

There are other objections made to ascribing any wonderful work to the divine power, agency, interposition, or aid; but as they are likewise objections to ascribing any weight to miracles as evidence, they may as well be considered after answering the inquiry which is presented next in order. Those who have gone with me thus far, will probably be willing to proceed with me to this next inquiry.

This inquiry is — How and in what way the Christian miracles were and still are an evidence of Christianity as a divine revelation, it being considered as already ascertained, that the miracles were wrought by the interposition and power of God?

At this stage in the discussion, the miracles present themselves to us in two aspects; and we may view them, and ought to view them, from two different positions. First, we will place ourselves in the position of those who were original eye witnesses of the miracles, to whom also the person who wrought or exhibited the miracles, came teaching, as a divine revelation, those truths, which taken collectively, we now denominate Christianity.

The teacher comes, and I hear him say weighty and excellent things. They approve themselves to my understanding and conscience. I believe some of them to be truths, and I think it probable the rest are also true. I begin to be disposed to become his follower. But the teacher puts forth most extraordinary claims. He declares that he is commanded and commissioned by the God and Father of all to inculcate these truths, that I must receive them as a revelation from God to men, that they have a divine authority and sanction, such as the truths taught by the wise men of the world have not, nay, such as the very truths themselves, *without* the sanction, would not have had, that is, if none but the wise men of the world, the scribes, pharisees, and philosophers, had taught them — and that by disregarding them now, I shall commit a greater sin against truth and the God of truth than I could have done, if he had not come and taught me as he has done. Doubt and hesitation arise in my breast. I perceive a claim to a higher inspiration than other teachers have asserted for themselves. I perceive a claim of having first been taught as well

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as a claim of teaching by higher authority than that to which I have been accustomed to defer. I perceive that if I admit this claim, I admit likewise motives to obedience of the truths inculcated, and dissuasives from disobedience of a higher order than have before reached and influenced my soul. I ask for the teacher's credentials. I would see a sign of the mighty authority to which the teaching which I have heard asserts such positive claim. The teacher performs a series of miracles in my presence, and I am satisfied. The blind receive sight, the deaf hear, the dead live and speak. Here is more than wisdom. Here is astonishing power. I can doubt no longer. I now feel what Nicodemus felt and expressed, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." I now believe the teacher came from God, and that he who came from God, thus commissioned and endowed, will speak truth in God's name, and that it is all important I should regard the truth thus spoken. Other truth, which others speak, I may or may not practically regard; and the consequences in either case shall be, at least may be, comparatively small and temporary. But this truth, so manifestly divine, I may by no means slight or disregard. It has the stamp of God's authority and power upon it; and as it is celestial in its origin, so it must be spiritual, paramount, uncompromising, and everlasting in its claims. I believe reverently, and I feel that I must obey heartily.

Perhaps the order of the process of believing in the communications of the teacher, as a revelation from God, may be the reverse of the preceding, as follows. — I am first attracted by the miracles which are exhibited. I pause for a short time in vague and speechless wonder. But soon I conclude that the man who can do these miracles must come from God. I am therefore prepared to receive what he says as a message from God; and afterwards I am confirmed in my belief of the source whence it came, by the character and adaptations of the message itself. In each order of process, the miracles are evidence — evidence, the first to be coveted, the mightiest to evince, the last to be abandoned.

"So then," says the objector, "the logic of the argument is this, Jesus fed five thousand persons with five loaves and two fishes, therefore he spake truth when he said, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming, and now is, when the

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dead shall hear the voice of the son of God, and they that hear shall live,' and therefore also, this truth is to be received as part and portion of a special revelation from God to men?" Certainly, I readily admit, the conclusion does not follow from the position assumed in the objection, in the same way in which a logical inference or conclusion follows from an antecedent verbal proposition or premise in a syllogism. The reasoning is capable, however, of being reduced to the syllogistic form. But without insisting upon this, it is sufficient to maintain, as I have done, that it is a just and natural exercise of the understanding or reason which God has given me, that I should believe and confide in the authority and truthfulness of the teacher, on account of the works which he performs, when they are such works as those which are held in view. It must at once be admitted to be possible for some to reason and conclude otherwise; but it is certain to my mind that it will generally be held unnatural, unreasonable, and unphilosophical for them to do so.

It follows, from the preceding discussion, that although there are other evidences of the truth, the importance, and the divine origin of what Jesus has spoken, miracles are essential to the fulness and perfection of a body of evidence. They are the key-stone in the structure of evidences. Without them most believers in Christianity as a revelation from God would feel that an evidence was wanting which it is extremely desirable to have, if not essential to the integrity of their faith in divine revelation as such. It is readily admitted as indisputable, that God can make a revelation to my mind and soul if he pleases, and assure me that it is a revelation from him, without a visible or tangible miracle, or to any other individual mind with like assurance. But if I am to communicate this revelation to others as a matter which concerns them equally with myself, the question arises, how am I to afford them reasonable proof that what I inculcate as a revelation from God is such in reality? Here it is that miracles find their place and value, as evidences of a divine communication, as pertinently as the man who informs me that he raised from the ground yesterday, by his unaided strength, five hundred pounds weight, labors to convince me that he speaks truth, by raising seven hundred pounds, in the same manner, in my presence, to-day.

"But," it may be asked, "how are we to distinguish the

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real miracle from other wonders, from the exploits of the man privileged and skilled in nature's secrets — the juggler's feats — divers marvellous things?" I cannot but consider this difficulty as far more theoretical than practical. I think it fair to presume that, if God would reveal his will to his rational creatures, and assure them of the reality of the revelation by wonderful works and signs, these would be such in number, variety, and character, as to leave little or no room for the intrusion of this difficulty upon the minds of competent and candid witnesses of the works. At any rate, such are the Christian miracles, as to character, variety, number. The enlightened and sincere inquirer after truth will always bear in mind that the question is not whether marvellous works in general are evidences of God's special interposition to authenticate a revelation, or to effect any other object; but whether the Christian miracles in particular, and collectively taken, are to be received as a decisive evidence that Christianity is a divine revelation. I do not contend that any and every wonderful work is sufficient, singly, to establish the performer's claim to teach by divine authority. Nor is it the question how confidently I ought to believe, or how much I should actually doubt, if the miracles of changing water into wine, the blasting of the barren fig-tree, the transfer of mania from a man to a herd of swine, and the finding of money in a fish's mouth were all which were exhibited. I might wish, in my presumption that, if those were all which were wrought, there had been a record of none. But in view of the whole done, recorded, and referred to, I find it easy to believe that, if every particular relating to the occasion, the action and the result were preserved and placed before me, I should find no great difficulties attached to these few, which constitute so small a portion of the whole. The rest stand out heaven wide from the juggler's feats, the alchymist's transmutations, the fanatic's trances, and everything else with which they have been sometimes, but very improperly, classed.

The grandeur of the acts and the beneficence and permanence of the results in the Christian miracles generally are conceded; still it is urged that "to give any weight of evidence to the mere wonderful work itself, either independently of or combined with, the testimony of the performer, is to assume that every wonderful work, which we cannot otherwise account for, must of necessity be explained by supposing

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a special divine interference." How much am I to understand by the phrase "cannot otherwise account for?" If this phrase means cannot show how and by what agency the work was actually performed, I wholly deny the allegation. I make no sort of attempt to account for half the marvels I see and hear. If the phrase means — cannot give any plausible account how the work might possibly have been done — the allegation comes some nearer to the truth; for in an example of the kind last supposed, there would arise some presumption that the work must be wrought by divine wisdom and power. But I deny that there is any assumption whatever of the kind alleged. The reasons for which certain wonderful works are believed to be performed by special divine interposition, have already been referred to, and in part expressly stated. They may be insufficient to satisfy some minds that the works are God's works, in the sense contended for; but they are sufficient to show that in giving weight of evidence to miracles, there is no assumption whatever, but reasoning from an opinion or belief which rests upon its own grounds, be these grounds sufficient or insufficient to sustain the opinion.

"But suppose," the objector still urges, "the man who brings to you an alleged divine revelation, and works miracles to authenticate his divine commission to teach, commands you to break God's law written in your heart by slaying your brother, or to do some other known evil that good may come of it, and is himself guilty of absolute falsehood. What will you say then?" I wait, and I expect to wait, for the presentation of this difficulty in the shape of facts. Then I will reply to the hypothesis. I am not bound to reply to an hypothesis which, to my mind, involves an absurdity, at least a contradiction, and which seems to me to border upon impiety. It is sufficient to say now, no such instance has occurred, will occur, or can occur. God does not act in contravention to his own attributes and purposes. It is the association of the Christian Miracles, luminous gems in themselves, with God's manifest purposes of love, which gives them additional lustre; and they again reflect back, with increased brilliancy and effect, the light and beauty and glory, in the midst of which they stand.

It is now time to ask, if the Christian miracles furnish no evidence of Christianity as a divine revelation, why were they

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wrought? — what was their design? No satisfactory account is given of this matter by those who think lightly of the miracles as evidence, or altogether deny to them this office. One able writer says, "I know not what was the actual purpose for which they were wrought; nor do I know what purpose they actually served." * Another able writer says, "We may perceive many purposes answered by them, but what was their special purpose, I venture not to state. I cannot sympathize with the confidence, with which many undertake to tell what is the intended end of any event, even the humblest." † "It would rather seem," he adds afterwards, "that every particle of the great whole exists for an end, indefinable, inconceivable." It would be natural to some persons to inquire here, why we should believe that the great whole, or any part of it, exists for *any* end, if none can be descried, which is either definable or conceivable? But this is aside from the purpose in hand.

Other writers admit equal ignorance of the design of the Christian miracles. Well they may, after denying to them all value as evidence. And most certainly there was no need of them as evidence, if men generally, in the beginning of the Gospel dispensation, could see intuitively, and so "take up into their own consciousness," according to the new phraseology of the day, whatever of truth God was pleased to announce to them by his messenger. But that might not have been a time of such enlarged consciousness and intuition as the present. Why then, I reiterate the inquiry, such prodigal superfluity of marvellous and beneficent power?

But, notwithstanding all the professed ignorance of the design of the Christian miracles, one of the writers referred to says, — "Mankind, especially when but partially enlightened, are much more attracted by extraordinary displays of physical power, than by the exhibition of moral grandeur." "The miracles he performed, therefore, were necessary to draw attention to him, and induce people to listen to him." "Here was something extraordinary; here was a wonderful man, what had he got to say." ‡ So far so good. I think so too. I think the evidence often begins its operation of producing belief pre-

* Charles Elwood, p. 237.
† Jesus and his Biographers, p. 256, 257.
‡ Charles Elwood, p. 237, 238.

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cisely in this way. I think also that mankind, when something more than "partially enlightened," would be still more attracted, astonished, and convinced by seeing real miracles performed, than when only partially enlightened, and more likely to see the "moral grandeur" associated with the "physical power" in the exhibition and display. I hold this to be the natural healthy action of human nature. I have seen as strongly marked indications of morbid mental action, in caviling unbelief, as ever I saw in easy credulity.

If it should be asked why miracles are not now wrought, if they are so important in convincing men of revealed truth, and confirming them in it, I should be obliged to confess in my turn, I do not know. But I will make one suggestion which may have a possible bearing upon the subject of inquiry. The evidences of religion must not be so great as to render unbelief an impossibility. If they were so, there would be an end of religious faith; or if faith could exist under such circumstances, I see not how it could be imputed for righteousness, as I suppose true faith always is. If they were so, the past and the future would be merged in the present, time and distance be annihilated, the invisible made visible, faith changed to sight and intuition. The fact seems to be, there is a class of minds which are not content to believe and trust as other minds do. They must *know.* A portion of this class, almost of course, come to imagine, (and perhaps it is happy for them,) that they *do* know. The greater part, as I am led to apprehend, finding after some struggles, that they cannot know, cease to believe. I say to persons of this turn of mind, Weigh and hoard up evidence, value and balance probabilities, as you do in most of the concerns of this life; it is not consistent with your present dependence and pupilage that you should know everything.

Again, the writer last quoted says, "Miracles which are interruptions of the natural course of events, occurring at distant intervals, seem admirably calculated to produce this effect, to raise men's minds from second causes to the First Cause, and to show them that nature is but what He wills." † The writer must at least have been *near* the kingdom of God when he penned this. One step more, and all I ask would have been conceded; and the whole question concerning miracles,

* Charles Elwood, p. 239.

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in their capacity of evidence, would have been reduced to what I would gladly have it, a question of more or less. There should be great charity for those who believe a little, if the little faith is of the genuine kind and stamp. It is still better to believe much, the evidence being answerable, as well as to love much, when the object of affection is lovely. But the language seems carefully guarded against the inference that the writer intends to take the last step. Perhaps he remembered that he had said before, when in a less believing state of mind, "Miracles can prove nothing but our ignorance." "The miraculous events recorded in the Bible may have occurred for aught I know, but they are of no value as evidences of Christianity." * Another of the writers before quoted says, "It is not to be disputed that they had a place and performed a part in the communication of truth from heaven." † Similar concessions might be multiplied from similar sources, and yet there is manifestly great and earnest labor to depreciate the evidence of miracles.

I now come to the more particular reason for which I have taken notice of the inability of those who deny the value of the Christian miracles as evidence, to give any satisfactory account of the main object for which the miracles were wrought. I wish to place this inability, and their views of miracles generally, in contrast with what those who performed and those who witnessed the miracles, said and thought of them. I see not how this understanding or believing so little, or perhaps nothing, of the object for which the miracles were wrought, is to be reconciled with that profession of belief in the truthfulness of the New Testament writers, and their competence to make correct records and to teach Christianity, — in a word, with that reverence for Scripture and the truth of Scripture, and the divine origin and importance of that truth, for which I nevertheless give them, at least those I have quoted, fraternal Christian credit.

When the disciples of John the Baptist came to Jesus with the inquiry, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for

* Charles Elwood, p. 24. It is but fair to add that a belief in the miracles, as facts, is fully avowed by Mr. Brownson in his Elwood.

† Jesus and his Biographers, p. 255.

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another? In that same hour he cured many of infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits, and unto many blind he gave sight. "Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go tell John what things ye have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached." * "The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me." † I suppose it will not be questioned that the Saviour here refers to his miraculous works. "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." ‡ "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, if ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." § "Believe me, that I am in the Father and the Father in me, or else believe for the very works' sake." ‖ "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen, (that is, seen the works,) and hated both me and my Father." ¶ The opinion of Nicodemus, a contemporary, and probably an eye witness, has already been quoted. Others were of like opinion. "Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, (the miracle of the five loaves,) said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world." ** "And many of the people *believed* on him and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than those which this man hath done?" †† Is no inference to be drawn from the passage last quoted, concerning the grounds of the belief of those people, represented to be many in number? The opinion of John, the evangelist, apostle, and beloved disciple, may be entitled to some weight. His opinion may be inferred, in the first place, from the astonishment he expresses at the unbelief of certain Jews. "But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him." ‡‡ His opinion is, in the second place, declared in announcing his object in writing his Gospel. "Many other signs truly did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye

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* Luke vii. 21. † John v. 36. ‡ John x. 25.
§ John x. 37, 38. ‖ John xiv. 11. ¶ John xv. 24.
** John vi. 14. †† John vii. 31. ‡‡ John xii. 37.

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might have life through his name."* Peter was another favorite companion and disciple. What does he say? "Ye men of Israel, Jesus of Nazareth, a man *approved* of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs *which God did by him* in the midst of you, as ye yourselves know."† I marvel, beyond my powers of utterance, when I view these and other like passages in contrast with some recently declared opinions. Surely there is mutual need of the charity, which hopeth all things, and believeth all things.

Thus far I have endeavored, in estimating the Christian miracles, to occupy the position of the original eye witnesses. I will now take the position which we all actually occupy at the present time. It will be expected that I should show how the Christian miracles are evidences of Christianity as a divine revelation now, and to us, who never saw a miracle performed.

I admit, in the first place, that the miracles are not the only evidence of the truth of Christianity, nor the only evidence of its divine origin and authority. I admit that no single evidence is so strong in itself as it is in combination with the other evidences which pertain to the case. I admit, and contend, that it is the accumulation of the whole evidence, rather than the force of any one singly, which makes it comparatively easy to believe, and very difficult to one who has duly weighed the whole evidence, to disbelieve. I see the wisdom of the divine economy and grace in furnishing variety of evidence adapted to the varieties of the human intellect. I admit that the evidence of the miracles is not the first in order to be presented to the mind of the modern unbeliever or misbeliever. New miracles, if one could do such, would be the precise thing; but before one can receive a lasting impression from any record, he must believe the record. That the miracles cannot sustain the revelation, but that it is faith in the revelation which can alone sustain the miracles, I totally deny. Such may be the order and sequence of faith in some minds, for aught I know; they may first believe in the revelation as such, and then in the miracles subsequently and consequently; but such is not the order of faith in all minds, I think in very few really believing in Christianity *as a revelation.*

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* John xx. 30, 31. † Acts ii. 22.

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We are then, in the first place, in order to convince the unbeliever that Christianity is a revelation from God, to bring forth the whole evidence, external and internal, or so much and such parts of it, as may be needed to convince him that the New Testament is a record of facts, as they actually occurred, including the wonderful works; that the wonders were wrought, that the parables and other sayings were spoken, that Jesus lived, labored, died, and rose again, as is recorded of him — in one word, that the New Testament is not fiction, but true history. This is the first step in instructing the ignorant and convincing the faithless. In this process, I think as highly, and would make as free use of the internal evidence, as any man; and I would appeal to every intellectual and moral power and principle which I knew or suspected to be in man. I am fully persuaded that the internal evidences of Christianity have never yet been drawn out and placed in all their attractive beauty and convincing power before men's minds, as they may be, and therefore ought to be, and at some future time will be.

This is not an occasion to enter into the details, but in the method here briefly indicated, I will suppose a belief in the facts recorded in the New Testament is firmly established in the mind; a belief that Jesus lived, as is recorded, put forth the claims, said the words, and did the works, and finally suffered, died, and rose again, all as is recorded of him in the New Testament. Now this belief includes, among other things, a belief of the wonderful works as facts, and so far I would not desire a firmer and fuller confession of faith than some of the writers, to whom I have referred in this discussion, have made. But here it is, at this very point, after we are brought to believe in the facts as facts, that, at the present day, the operation of the miracles as evidence comes in and shows us what is the true intrinsic character of the words, sayings, truths, and other facts with which the miracles are associated in the record. Are these, to which I say the miracles are stamp, seal, and witness, a revelation from God, or are they only the high imaginings of men, in whom there was a somewhat extraordinary development of some of the attributes and powers of the human mind and soul? Here we find ourselves brought back nearly to the original position of eye witnesses. We have admitted the facts. We have virtually said we believe them as truly as if we had seen them. We must

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now proceed to the questions,—By what power were the works wrought? and to what purpose? in the same manner as if we had been original eye witnesses. We must necessarily lack something of their vividness of impression from personally witnessing the wonders; but we must henceforth judge of them and of the purpose intended by them, upon the same general principles, which would be brought into operation by an eye witness. And by the same mental process we come to the same conclusion, namely, The works were wrought by the power of God to establish the authority of his Son as a messenger from heaven, whatever other or ulterior purposes they may have also embraced, or are yet to answer. To be sure the miracles are not now, and never were, evidence of the truth of the historical records. As facts they are to be evinced in the same manner in which other facts are proved, only requiring, as extraordinary facts, more strong and abundant proof and testimony. But the entire history, in which they are contained, being first shown to be true, then the miracles show what the character of the true history is, namely, that it is a history of a revelation made by God to men, just as they showed to the original eye witnesses and auditors, that he who spake to them came from God, was commissioned as God's messenger, and spake God's truth.

The present value of the miracles as evidence, as modifying the result in "the last analysis," and giving character to one's faith, may perhaps be rendered still more conspicuous, by supposing all accounts of the miracles and all allusions to them to be blotted from the records, or rather never to have been *in* the records. Suppose then every account of every miracle and all allusions to miracles, including of course the resurrection of Jesus and all reasoning from it to the resurrection and future life of man, to be out of the record. Suppose the rest remaining, just as we find it, or, (to make the supposition as favorable as possible to the adverse side of the question,) with the periods finished and rounded so that no unseemly chasm should meet the reader's eye. Suppose the New Testament to be this, and to have been precisely this from the beginning. Where would Christianity upon this hypothesis be at this time? and where would it have been for many ages past? I will not presume to say positively; but I will frankly state my apprehensions. I apprehend that as an authoritative and practically efficacious system, it would have been slumbering in the tomb of Jesus of Nazareth.

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But some one may start and say, You surely forget yourself. By the very hypothesis, the records of the parables and of much more which is exceedingly, nay supereminently valuable, would be still extant, and what it is now. True, and how would it be regarded? What would be thought and said of it, by the wise men of the present age? I think it possible some of them might say as follows, — Socrates was one lovely incarnation of the Divinity, Plato another, and there seem to have been many others in ancient times; and, among them all, none more lovely, nor in some respects so much so, as Jesus, the low born Nazarene. But the obscurity of his birth and family, his want of education and efficient helpers, the melancholy temperament or distemperament of his mind, and the gloomy forebodings of his soul, prevented him from effecting any extensive reform during the little time he lived. His premature and infamous death, though marked throughout with injustice and cruelty on the part of his slayers, soon put an end to whatever hopes might have been entertained of him in his life time. The records of him which are extant, are more than rare curiosities of antiquity. They contain the loveliest and some of the sublimest views of God, which have ever been uttered by man. They inculcate a morality singularly, nay exquisitely pure, so pure, that whoever pays sufficient attention to it to understand it, cannot fail to regret that he lives in a world in which it is, for the most part, impracticable. Long after he has closed the volume, so seldom read and so little regarded at the present day, he will detect himself in wishing that the itinerant prophet of Palestine had been placed in a situation to bring his schemes for the reformation and improvement of mankind to the sure test of experiment. Is this altogether a fancy sketch? Be it so. I am confident it was other persons' fancies, which first suggested its lineaments to my fancy. I take no pleasure in viewing it, now it is drawn out, and the coloring laid on. I relish it as little as any of you can. But I will be true to my undertaking. I will speak my fears as well as my faith.

I come, now, in conclusion, to the only consideration which could have fully determined me to agitate this subject, at this time. I am persuaded that the most prevalent unbelief concerning the Christian miracles is unbelief of the facts; and that the manner in which they have recently been objected

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against, as evidence, has contributed, and does contribute, to the prevailing unbelief. Those whom I have quoted, and some others alluded to, believe the facts. I rejoice that they do. They also avow a firm belief in Christianity as a divine revelation. I cordially give them full credit for sincerity in their professions. But there are others who entertain and express different views. They either doubt or altogether deny the facts. Their opinion is that no such things were actually done — that the accounts of them were invented and interwoven with the other accounts in the New Testament, of which last mentioned some are probably true. Others think the wonders related had some foundation in fact; but were greatly exaggerated and distorted in the records of a wonder-loving age and people. I honestly think many of these unbelievers and skeptics are much confirmed in their unbelief by the manner in which they find the miracles regarded and spoken of by those who receive them as facts, but deny their character as real miracles, or their value as evidences of Christianity, or perhaps both. They do not comprehend, (is it wonderful that they do not?) how a man can believe the facts, according to the plain record, and still estimate them at no more value. One of the clearest minded unbelievers in Christianity as a divine revelation whom I ever chanced to meet contended with me, that it was alike impossible for human testimony to render a miracle credible, or to resist the evidence of a miracle actually witnessed. "I contend," said he, "that the Jews never saw the works recorded to have been done, for if they had seen them they certainly would have believed." I believe, therefore, that mischief is doing, in the manner which I have pointed out, however little it may be intended. I think so not merely in consequence of my reasoning upon the tendencies of what I consider a wrong theory and estimate of the facts in question, but from what I read, from what I hear others say, from what I have heard unbelievers avow. Now the tendency of unbelief in the Christian miracles as facts, I need state in no other words than one of the writers before quoted has furnished to my use. "The miracles of the New Testament are so interwoven with the texture of the narrative, and make up so essential a part of it, that I cannot deny them without casting suspicion on the whole narrative itself." *

* Charles Elwood, p. 236.

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I shall not be expected on this occasion, to bring forward the proofs with which my limited intercourse with society has furnished me, that there is much prevailing skepticism respecting the actual occurrence of the miraculous facts recorded in the New Testament. Let a few quotations from certain writers stand instead. Speaking of the Christian miracles, one of these writers says, "By some they are rejected as essentially incredible. By others, who recognise the divinity of the words and character of Jesus, they are neither acknowledged nor denied." * There is then, in the opinion of this writer, himself a believer in Christianity and in the miraculous facts, the kind of skepticism which I have also found, and whose tendency, according to another writer just quoted, is so threatening to the whole New Testament narrative. The writer of a letter recently published, addressed to Andrews Norton, says, "it is impossible for us to know, except by the mere declaration of the apparent performer, whether an alleged miracle be a miracle or not." † Again, speaking of the testimony we have as to the actual performance of the wonderful works recorded in the gospels, he says, "there are many serious and weighty objections to be urged as to that matter, the quarter part of which never yet have been urged, much less answered." ‡ In another recent pamphlet, a parade is made of the several difficulties, which, as the writer supposes, hinder us from proving the reality of particular miracles. One of these difficulties is, "The authority of the Evangelists is not quite satisfactory." § The same writer thinks "it would be difficult to prove in a court of justice the reality of any one of the miracles ascribed to Jesus in the gospels, with the exception of his resurrection." Depend upon it, Brethren, the unbelief which is most rife and most to be dreaded is unbelief of the miraculous facts. I would ask, with all seriousness and deference whether this unbelief or its mischievousness is likely to be diminished by reducing the marvellousness, denying the current value, or posing the unsophisticated mind concerning the design of the facts themselves.

"But what shall we do?" say those who take the other

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* Jesus and his Biographers, p. 236.
† Letter to Andrews Norton, p. 35.
‡ Idem. p. 39.
§ Levi Blodgett on the previous Question.

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side of the question which has now been agitated. "We believe the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. We wish others to believe. We cannot receive the Christian miracles as evidence ourselves. We find others cannot; and we find some who doubt or even deny the miraculous facts. But we would persuade all to embrace the faith of the Gospel and abide in it. What shall we do?" I say, urge other evidence, such as you do receive and can urge —urge it as strongly as you please, as strongly as you can. You can do this without any the least reference to miracles—certainly without anything which shall tend to undermine others' faith, or to excite others' fears. "But," say they, "we cannot acquiesce in what is to us a false theory and estimate of miracles. We must speak out our own views freely." So be it then. Others also have spoken, and may continue to speak freely *their* views. We will all speak our views of truth, and of error and its consequences likewise, when we feel it to be our duty so to do. We may all have our fears as well as our hopes of consequences; but we need not turn alarmists and be overwhelmed by our fears. God's truth is not to be prostrated by the efforts and imaginations and impotent strivings of men. Only let us speak what we believe to be the truth in love, and the God of truth will no doubt cause error gradually to vanish away, and the truth to prevail forever.

ART. II.—1. *The Metropolitan Pulpit: or Sketches of the most popular Preachers in London.* By the author of "Random Recollections," &c. London.

2. "*The Pulpit worth more than it costs.*" By T. S. CLARK. Stockbridge, Mass. American National Preacher, No. 155.

WE name these publications at the head of our article on account of their titles, and not for the purpose of lengthened criticism. The first is superficial and flippant, without graphic portraiture or discriminating observation; the second supports a sound principle by very low or very doubtful arguments. One

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or two of these we shall merely glance at. Christianity it is said, increases the value of property; and in illustration, we have contrasted the state of New England with that of Turkey. True, the laws are good in the one place, bad in the other, and of consequence, the security greater, which might fairly result from enlightened self-interest. Property was secure in the best days of Pagan Rome, but that in itself, though an admirable proof of the wisdom of Roman legislation, was no argument for Roman religion. Individually the Turks are proverbially honest, but they are the victims of bad laws, laws in no wise justified by their religion, and therefore, in making such inconsiderate assertions, we support Christianity at the expense of justice, a support which Christianity is too powerful to need, and too generous to accept. Again we are told that, "except where Christianity prevails, we shall not find those partnerships in trade and commerce, which are indispensable to give property its greatest value." We throw no discredit upon partnerships in trade; they are the necessary result of great commercial civilization, and may consist with the most rigorous probity; but we ask any man to read their history, and say whether he can plead them in evidence for Christianity — whether in these combinations for gain, united in most cases, but by the one tie of interest, he can discover the good effects of his blessed religion. What has been the conduct of such associations, in trade with savages, but the most fraudulent extortion of the intelligent and the strong over the ignorant and the weak. What, for long years, was the conduct of the despotic and rapacious East India Company over the millions whom it oppressed? — and to sum up all, what but partnerships, partnerships in every Christian nation, supported the African slave-trade, that curse and shame of human nature, the blood-spot upon the white man's hand, the mark of Cain upon his brow? But we reject this mode of argument altogether. We do not wish to infer the growth of Christianity by the spread of traffic, nor to measure a nation's piety by the number of her joint-stock companies. We are not in favor of appeals to the selfish for religion on grounds of worldly and pecuniary economy; on either hand they are useless; the zealous do not need them, and the indifferent will not mind them. We admit the pulpit is worth more than it costs; and though it should be proved that religious institutions required far greater expenditure than they do, the argument for such institutions would still remain unchanged.

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Our main object in this paper is to consider the present position and influence, difficulties, and duties of the pulpit. We shall endeavor in our estimate to be impartial and unbiassed.

Let us then take as a principal test the pulpit's position and influence, the amount of attendance on its ministry, and the extent to which it operates on the moral conditon of society. Apparently, the numerical attendance of all popular sects is considerable. Extraordinary talents with an adaptation of them to some dominant passion or opinion, command throngs of eager listeners, arrested by the coincidence of prejudice, or fixed by the spell of eloquence. And these talents, high for the popular purpose, need not always be high by a positive standard; when men believe they are easily pleased, and when the speaker reflects their own sentiments, they are not disposed to be critical. Nor does it require that order of eloquence in which enthusiasm must be polished by fine taste, to move a multitude, who seek more for earnestness of manner and strength of utterance, than for ingenious thought and elegant diction. But whether the talents or eloquence be or be not of the highest order, the men, who can use them to collect and interest large numbers of people, are comparatively few; and the audiences by which they are attended form no fair criterion whereby to estimate the real influence of preaching. Whom then are we to consider the regular and steady adherents of the pulpit? These may be resolved into three distinct classes, as different as can be one from the other; the sincerely devout, for whom the house of prayer has in itself attractions; conventional attenders, who go from habit, fashion, or interest; and zealots who are drawn more by doctrines than devotion. We add to these, the inhabitants of rural districts, who commonly attend worship, wherever there is a church within any available distance; but in such cases, it is as much a place of news as a place of prayer. When we have counted all, however, who are regular and permanent adherents to the pulpit, we doubt whether a majority will not remain, on whom the pulpit has no power, who habitually desert it, or are but very occasionally present. We count among these considerable numbers of young men of the working classes, studious in their habits and anxious for knowledge, who after six days toil, employ the seventh in rest and reading. We are not giving our own opinion; we are stating facts; facts which we know. We are aware that many in the same grade of life are absent,

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but from very different causes; they are away in idleness, ignorance, or the pursuit of pleasure. With such our subject has no concern. But respecting those whom we have first specified, the fact is plain, that they have become *readers*, rather than *hearers*, and that in all these cases the loss of the pulpit has been the gain of the press. A vast portion there is besides of society, whom the pulpit can neither attract nor hold; the ignorant that cannot understand, and the intellectual that will not listen. We have neither time nor space to verify our statement by tabular statistics, but that such is fact will appear to any one who compares, throughout Christendom, the number of worshippers with the number of inhabitants. Masses there are in all populous districts, masses dark and dense, amongst whom the voice of the pulpit is never heard; masses buried in a moral wilderness of ignorance, crime, and destitution, whom the public ministrations of religion never reach. Persons who have no means of knowing this by their own observation, have only to consult the reports of those in our own country or Europe, who have paid attention to the physical or spiritual condition of the poor. What hordes of human beings in London on whom the Sabbath sun never dawns with the gladness of religion, on whose ears the church-going bell never sounds with the music of peace? We know it to be asserted as a certainty, and we have no reason to think it otherwise, that thousands in London have never crossed the threshold of a church or chapel. Suppose, then, two persons to take different directions in a great city during the hours of divine service; one to the churches, the other to the dwellings of the poor, and the retreats of vice; on comparison of notes, which would be found the most crowded? We fear the result. Yet all not at worship would not be found in guilt. Many are dead in the apathy of ignorance, born to darkness, they have fulfilled their destiny; many without provision for the wants of nature, forget those wants which are latest and deepest; many from shame-faced delicacy will not go in raggedness to the congregation of their neighbors, nor let those who once knew them otherwise see them in their fall and wretchedness.

Turning then from those who are absent by extreme ignorance or extreme indigence, let us refer for a moment to those, who are neither ignorant nor indigent; who remain away from the mere want of inclination or inducement to attend. To the

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former class we shall allude again, before we close this article; of the latter, we may consider that no small portion of it is to be found in the intelligent and independent working population. Thousands we believe of this class, both in our own country and Europe, rarely go to church. And how, it may be enquired, are they in the mean time engaged? Variously. Some walk into the fields; some instruct their families; some give themselves to private study; and others attend philosophical debates. The rapid and extensive progress of Owenism among the operatives of Britain is an evidence to which nothing stronger can be added. Shall we find the case otherwise among the higher classes? In America and England, where attendance on public worship is a matter of decorum, where such attendance is commonly a sine-qua-non of respectable station, few that desire to stand fairly with society will entirely desert the house of prayer. But look to France, and other countries on the European continent, and where conventional scruple does not operate in the same manner, and you see churches all but empty. Exceptions there are, such as those we alluded to before, but literally they are exceptions. M. Coquerel, with his fine delivery and polished eloquence, is surrounded with the Protestant élite of Paris; and a few years ago when M. Cordaire, patronized by the young men, was the fashion, his church was thronged with the aristocracy of Catholicism. So was it with Edward Irving in London; a mob of nobility, senators, and statesmen pressed about him to suffocation, but the time soon came, when the magic could charm no more; and when after a life exhausted before its prime, he sought his mother-land to die, he had been long forgotten by the courtly circles. While his eloquent eccentricities had novelty they went to hear him, as they would a new Prima Donna at the opera; curiosity gratified and taste satiated, they had nothing else to desire; deserted on all sides, he laid his head among those who knew in private his manly and Christian worth; who were not held merely by the lambency of his genius, and did not with the crowd depart, when the lights began to fail. Numbers of professional men are habitually indifferent to the pulpit, with whom, however unjust it may be considered, a sermon is but another name for an opiate. Rare talents may draw them forth, but rare talents, as implied in the very epithet, are scattered over wide intervals both of time and space. Looking, therefore, from one extreme

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of society to the other, and taking any part of Christendom as our field of observation, we think the fact established, that the pulpit, — not of this sect or that, — but the general modern pulpit, to a large extent, has lost, or is losing, its power. If such be the fact, what the cause or causes? We shall, to the best of our power, endeavor to explain.

The first reason we shall assign is extrinsic to the pulpit, and is founded in the growing influence which progressive civilization has been giving to the press. Previous to the reformation and the invention of printing, the priesthood was the depository of all the knowledge that existed, and the only medium for its utterance. The pulpit was then the single and solitary source of popular instruction, and around it was the submissive throng of believing multitudes; uninquiring faith listened to its mandates, and princes, equally with the people, bent before its authority. The instrument of moral teaching, the peculiar dispenser of religious thought, it was, moreover, the only means of civilization. When we consider the gross ignorance of the lower classes, as then existing; the equal ignorance of the *lay* nobility; with ferocious and despotic passions superadded; if it were not for the impressive sanctions of religion, and the influence of preaching, we know not how society could have been preserved from the most frightful and savage anarchy. Whatever raised men above their grossest and their worst propensities; whatever restrained them in their fiercest and most unlawful desires; whatever softened or humanized their manners; whatever nurtured or diffused the best charities of life, were mainly or entirely in those ages gathered from the pulpit. The pulpit was the people's protector, as well as instructor; the only power which could make the despot quail; a power, before which the mightiest monarch became weak in presence of the most lowly monk. The priest may have often been a tyrant, but most commonly he was the tyrant of the tyrant; and the hand of the oppressor, filled with blood and plunder, has not seldom been broken by the lightning of the church. In such times, it was well to have a power which feared neither knights nor kings; a power, which in its very supremacy over worldly rank, could humiliate the great and protect the poor. When we fling sarcasms at the priesthood unsparing and unjust, we do not probably recollect, how much popular rights awe such men as Becket and Langton. While slavery and silence, except when speech

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was to flatter or to lie, prevailed in courts and senates, the pulpit was the only place where free and fearless utterance found a refuge; where men, who almost claimed the reverence of gods, were taught to feel they were but brothers of the worm, made of the same earth with the meanest serf that crouched before them in the dust. Preachers may have abused their office and been false to their mission, may have been bigots, fanatics, persecutors, but their worst enemy, if he has any candor, cannot say that as a body they have feared to proclaim what they believed the truth. That many of them at all times have been hypocrites, sycophants, there is no denying; but if hypocrisy and sycophancy are to be taken as points of comparison, the history of the church, bad as it is, need but little fear the contrast with that of any other prominent social institution.

The art of printing introduced a new element into society; but for a long period, this was remote as the stars from the people. The reformation itself, though greatly aided among the learned by the press, was principally diffused among the people by the pulpit; books were the sources in which the learned found knowledge; but preaching was the stream on which it flowed down to the vulgar; in books the seeds of new thoughts were garnered, but oral discourse was the wind which carried them far and wide to germinate over an expansive soil. There were two parts in this mighty work, as there must always be in every great moral revolution in which documentary evidence is concerned; the analytic and descriptive; the critical and the expositional; the one the department of learning; the other of eloquence. Luther in his own person gives us an instance of the two offices combined; Luther in his closet or his castle, the translator of the Bible; Luther in his pulpit or his chair, the impetuous and irresistible expounder. Preaching was therefore the main instrument by which the Protestant Reformation was sent forth among the people; its sermons, lectures, and disputes, from Geneva to Glasgow, and from Wirtemberg to Paul's cross, aroused the popular mind to action and revolt; it gave the sound which called the people to the battle, and that which once had proclaimed the glory of Rome, gathered the storm which shattered its throne. Religious freedom, as well as general civilization, has derived impulse from the pulpit, and the movement, which has carried millions into moral independence, was born in the thunder which a Luther or a Knox rolled forth upon the world. As

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civil liberty is generally either the consequence or the companion of religious independence, so far as the pulpit has advanced the latter, it has likewise advanced the former. Up to this point, then, we see in the pulpit the principal source of instruction, of social civilization, of moral revolution; but *from* this point we observe another order of things gradually taking place.

The press, as we before noticed, was at first only the privilege of the educated, and the educated were the wealthy. So it continued to be until a very recent period. Mr. Foster, in his "Essay on Popular Ignorance," observes, that even in the time of Addison there could scarcely be said to be "a reading public." We quote from memory, but we give the substance of his remark. We think its truth will not be disputed by those who compare that period with ours. For surely, the wits for whom wits wrote, the fine gentlemen and fine ladies, the fops and dilettanti, who waited for their daily portion of pungent gossip or graceful satire in the Tatler or Spectator, are not to be called "a public," if we are to give the same designation to the earnest millions, who at the present day devour such periodicals as Chambers's Journal. Even politics, — always topics of popular interest, — had not numerous readers and students in the laboring classes. Swift, Junius, and Wilkes, writers who in their time created more excitement than perhaps any other three that could be named in the history of party, were not read, it is probable, by the twentieth part of those with whom they were idols. Multitudes of the people are now readers not of morbid or maudlin trash, but of many of the best productions of our religious, philosophical, and general literature. Time was, when it was considered an act of mighty wisdom and philanthropy, to place within the poor man's reach some history of "Jack and Tom," of "The Two Apprentices," "The Infidel Cobler," — with others of similar taste and elevation; and if the humble reader, or rather *speller*, had not the grace to be pleased with these, he was met on the other side only by the spawnings of obscenity and indecency. That time we trust is gone. We remember ourselves, when the tracts of Hannah More were considered by the patrons of the poor, as the very perfection of cottage reading. We mention this in no spirit of disrespect, for we think that the effort to interest her fellow creatures in virtue deserves well of posterity; we adduce it merely to show that taste has been

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progressively rising; that it was not higher was no fault of hers, while hers was all the praise to lower her powers to its level.

The tendency, therefore, of circumstances has been to give increasing influence to the press. Rich in present and past intellect, its facilities of diffusion are abundant beyond measure. Its cheap and rapid machinery transcends all that superstition had ever conceived of magic. The amount of production is in proportion to the facilities of diffusion, and both go forward with an accelerating ratio. Every variety of work is to be found in every variety of edition; periodicals for every purpose and for every class; and resorts for reading, where in other times nothing had been but gross ribaldry and savage ignorance. Books are now to be seen from the cellar to the garret, and knowledge has made its way, where the sun himself had scarcely pierced. Unseen and unsuspected, an under current of inquiry has been flowing with steady course and increasing strength, and the seeds of thought have fructified before it was suspected they had been sown. Knowledge that was only the rich man's companion has become the poor man's friend; seeks him in the factory and workshop, enlightens his home and dignifies his occupations. She accompanies the peasant to his lonely haunts, fills his solitude with thought, trains his ear to the music of heaven and his eye to the goodliness of nature. The voice of knowledge is gone forth over the earth in every civilized language; her cry is heard from the Alps to the Andes, and in every space between. The pulpit accordingly is no longer the exclusive instrument of popular instruction; books divide the power, and to a certain extent all but monopolize it.

The progress of the press, as we have shown, has taken away the supremacy of the pulpit as a moral teacher. We shall state two causes incidental to the pulpit's own administration, which, more than any external circumstances, limit its influence and usefulness, namely, *sameness* and *sectarianism.*

First, we say sameness, and we shall endeavor to explain and justify our meaning. Preaching, as we find it in popular pulpits, is monotonous almost beyond endurance. And that such intellectual uniformity should coexist with much religious division, seems a kind of moral paradox; but so it is. If we take that form of religion, the most popular in these times,

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termed evangelical, it will be sufficient for our purpose. An evangelical discourse is not a sermon, but a system; and this system, running along the whole line of theology from the fall of man in Eden to his beatification in heaven, or his perdition in hell, is jumbled into half an hour's or an hour's declamation, repeated from Sunday to Sunday and church to church, without novelty of argument or freshness of illustration, until the mind droops in very weariness, and the ear grows tired of the sound. From this, in most popular churches, there is no retreat. The form of worship may be different; ecclesiastical form or discipline may vary; the talents of the preachers may vary, but the evangelical sermon is identical in all; commonly a variegated series of texts, held together by a thread of very common-place, or very fanciful analogy. And many we apprehend would think the minister unfaithful to his trust, and that the Gospel was not savingly preached, was there omitted an important article of their peculiar faith. Thus the sphere of pulpit thought and action is circumscribed within the narrowest limits; Christian speech is shackled by the bonds of system; and the wonderful wealth of the Bible is reduced to a few disjointed texts. The pulpit thunders with boisterous tameness, but in its noise the inward sighings of the natural conscience are unheard, the deeper sorrows of the heart unsolaced, and the trials of life overlooked, or but vaguely noticed.

When we complain of sameness in the ministrations of the general pulpit, let it not be thought that we make an unjust demand for variety. To expect from the pulpit the same exciting novelty in preaching, as in other species of literature, would be uncandid and unfair. The temptations arising from gain and ambition are more in the direction of any other profession than the clerical, and therefore to such professions a great portion of the most distinguished talent will of course be attracted. The clerical profession, also, requires a numerous body of men to supply the moral wants of the Christian community; naturally the majority must be but of average ability; and by the very necessity of circumstances consist of men respectable, rather than eminent in intellect. Besides, they labor under many trials and disadvantages. The necessity of periodical composition is in itself alone no slight aggravation of ministerial toil. Who, that has ever experienced the necessity of stated intellectual preparation, will not understand

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this? The head may be heavy with bodily disease, or the heart sick with inward grief; the pen may tremble in the hand, and the eye grow dim with sorrow, but the shadow of the Sabbath is already upon their imagination, and the weekly sermon must be ready. Alas! the tale of brick must be forth coming, and often there is not wherewith to make it; yet hundreds of upturned faces will be upon the pastor in the temple to seek for direction and support in their pilgrimage, when he, who is expected to dispense, may be the being of all present who most needs them. How often will the sense of this responsibility scare ministers in their dreams and break their sleep, oppress them in society, and follow them into solitude. The very difficulty of composition is itself a labor, which those who have not tried can but feebly estimate; and men of worldly business are not always aware at what expense of anxious and painful meditation the discourse was completed, which, in hearing, seemed so simple and so fluent. Persons accustomed to one sort of labor are bad judges of those whose sphere of action is specifically different from their own; the man of bodily energy is therefore little conscious of the toil of him, who spends his strength and wears out his life in the solitude of the study. Bustling about in the thoroughfare of the world, jostling and jostled, the study seems to him no more than a quiet and indolent retreat; but he forgets that in that retreat there is an ever-flowing current of thought wearing away its embankments; and that the soul stimulated in all its faculties may be beating its tenements to atoms.

Ministers have to choose their own subjects; and although rhetoricians reckon this as one of their privileges, those who know human nature well will class it among their disadvantages. They must therefore, to interest strongly, have that sort of originality which can unceasingly draw forth fresh subjects of thought, or by illustration throw new interest around the old; the latter probably the more difficult. Now in the other oratorical professions, the speaker has the subject ready at his hand; and commonly it is one with which his hearers immediately sympathize. The lawyer has his case prepared by the events that require his interference; and if he be at all a man of talent, from their very circumstantiality, he can readily invest them with a dramatic interest. The senator's oration is suggested by the bill which his party or the times devise. The actor has the character he is to personate sculp-

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tured for him by the imagination of his author; but the preacher must weekly propose his own case; and to make deep impression on cultivated minds, he must argue it with the logic of the lawyer or the legislator, and deliver it with the grace and propriety of the actor. Then comes the difference of remuneration. This is indeed the least consideration to an honorable man in any liberal profession; although it is something to have a life of arduous exertion crowned with an age of independent competency, instead of relying on willing or unwilling subscription, which is the end of many a clergyman's career. But there is another kind of reward dear to every man of honest zeal, and that is to be certain that his labor has not been in vain. On this point the preacher may be unassured to the very close of life. The lawyer is satisfied when his cause is gained, the senator when his bill is passed, the actor when his audience laughs or weeps; *they* have definite purposes, and they have definite tests, by which to know when these purposes are effected. With a minister it is not so; he must often cast his bread upon the waters and not find it until after many days indeed; nay with best intentions he may sink at last under the weight of apparent failure. We can easily conceive a young man cast alone into some distant and retired spot. He enters on his work with ardor, with talent, and with hope. He speaks from a true and loving heart, and endeavors with all sincerity to realize his beautiful ideal of ministerial devotedness. With a growing family his wants increase, and poverty at last besets him. Necessity drives him to the weekly drudgeries of a school; cares and crosses gather round a perplexed intellect; his periods of composition are the hours stolen from his rest, the intervals of his slavery; his youth departs; his heart dies within him; novelty of thought expires in the dull monotony of his life; his energy tames down to mediocrity; his eloquence dilutes to common-place; his hearers gradually retire, except perhaps a few who remain from pity or from habit; with little sympathy at hand and no fame at a distance, with a worn spirit and shattered expectations, he finds his position a solitude — a solitude, not of apathy but of agony. The feelings of the gentleman and the scholar are not dead; the spectres of his once bright fancyings crowd about his tortured imagination; his former generous ambition turns into moody disappointment; at last he occupies an unminded grave in his own secluded churchyard, or he lives until another

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generation knows him not; knows nothing of the once glowing preacher in the old and jaded schoolmaster. And such is the true history of many a minister's course. We make the admission, that failure may attend, or seem to attend, the best exertions; but we think that in general the cause will be found in some faults of talent or of temper. The preacher must bring to his work the spirit of love as well as the spirit of power. Associated with his hearers in the most impressive eras of life — in Sabbath worship, in birth, in death, and in the consecration of wedded love, if he be faithful to his trust, and unite the warmth of a friend to the zeal of a minister, the circumstances must indeed be peculiar, in which pastoral industry can lose its just reward; but should there be no return from the world, there is that within the soul itself in the consciousness of fulfilled duty, which as the world does not give neither can it take away.

Setting aside, therefore, all undue craving for variety, the human mind fairly demands a certain portion of it, and for all that is necessary to sustain a religious and moral interest, the pulpit affords abundant opportunities and resources. The objects which are its topics are the greatest in existence, before which the outward world is lost in immensity; — God, eternity, the human soul; all that concerns duty here, and all that concerns destiny hereafter. The preacher, like the prophet in the mount, must behold the creatures and scenes around him with unsealed vision; and when the eye of flesh can only see the things of earth and time, his must pierce the veil of matter and mortality. To him the world is full of undying souls, with endless consciousness and endless capacity; to him all being has its highest worth as it stands related to the greatest goodness and the greatest happiness; to him the sublimest view of this mighty globe itself is, that it is the place where a deathless humanity is cradled for the skies, the place where God unfolds his dispensations, and where he is conducting an all-wise providence to everlasting purposes. Its topics are therefore exhaustless; everlasting in their importance as they are everlasting in their nature. For, what is the mission of the pulpit but the mission of Christ continued? — A mission to the human conscience, and the human soul, to win, to warn, to instruct, to inspire men with love for the true, the right, the pure, the beautiful, and the good; to draw them from the corrupt influences of selfishness and passion; to denounce iniquity

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in spirit and in action; with the mercy of Jesus, to seek the outcast, to save the lost, to labor for the worst; in the hour of private calamity or public suffering to be a messenger of peace to the hearts of the afflicted; to raise the downcast eye to the bow of hope, spanning the dreary horizon with the gleam of promise; to awaken in deepest sorrow the spirit of faith, and banish the demon of despair, even when earth is as iron and heaven as brass. The circumstances, too, which accompany the ministration of the pulpit are as impressive as its purpose is sublime. The day is sacred and tranquil, when cheerfulness and rest soften the harshness of toil, and thoughts of a better destiny will flash across the most worldly soul. Prayer is present with all its humanizing tenderness, and music also, with its holiest inspiration. The audience around the pulpit, next to that which shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ, are in the most solemn of all relations. Gathered from all ranks and conditions they are there equal as in the slumber of the grave; their earthly destinations and differences, the toys and titles for which they value themselves or are valued by others, are, or ought to be, nothing there; there they are assembled not as distinguished or obscure, but as children of God; as strangers and sojourners on earth, looking for their home and rest in heaven. All the associations of the place are connected with duty and immortality; and the truths to which it is dedicated, however rudely or feebly uttered, are solemn beyond measure. And man within sight of the pulpit is always in a position to be revered, never to be scorned; not as he sometimes is even in legislative assemblies, where selfish and mean interests will often assume the sacred name of wisdom; where intellectual splendor but too frequently throws a fiercer glow around moral deformity, and where the conflict of faction kindles all that is worst in the worst passions; not as in a court of justice, where every view of man has something fearful in it, whether we regard it in the culprit covered with guilt, or the judge clothed in terror.

The orator of the pulpit has a wide and varied sphere, if he but use the materials it affords. He has the conscience and the heart. He can enter their secret retirements. With a deep study of his own nature; with an eye that has not perused in vain the history of human life, nor gazed vacantly on its myriad forms of character, he can pierce the bosom, depict its struggles, describe its dangers, trace the sources of sin and

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suffering. And in this little world alone, what infinite diversity, not only in the forms of virtue, but of temptation, guilt, remorse, misery; all that makes the moral history of sin, all that makes the tragedy of life. The preacher has human homes to which, as we have said before, he is bound by most sacred bonds. When affliction has softened the spirit; when experience has made the most common truths impressive, and translated with deep meaning to the heart, what before had been lifeless to the ear; when the lights are quenched in the hall and tears are in the place of feasting, and the death-bed with all its solemn scenery is amidst the surviving and the loved; yet, not these only, but also whatever brightens or blesses the dwelling; smiling infancy; sportive childhood; the joy and duty of parents; the blessed charities of this life and holy hopes of the next; all these are his, and which simply to feel is to be eloquent. From the domestic circle, he can extend his thoughts over the whole field of society; going abroad into the living world, he can note its changes and the laws by which they are governed; observing the throng of life, with the passions and interests that move its complicated mechanism, he will be able to unite comprehensive views with practical detail. The study of man, as well as the love of man on the most ample scale, is a duty imposed on the preacher by the necessity of his office; and the more he is animated with the mind of Christ, the more faithful will he be to this duty, and the results of it will appear in his preaching, in the degree that he is earnest and sedulous in his master's mission. Whatever there is in the love of universal man, that interests the philanthropist and makes the world a common field of labor; whatever there is in love of country, that fans the fire of the patriot's breast; whatever there is in history, with all its grand and solemn exhibitions of the *changeable*, that feeds the meditations of senator or sage; whatever there is in the tendency of events, that occupies the speculative on the progression of humanity, are all tributary to the preacher; and in the highest, noblest sense. Upon the "field" of the world he is to sow imperishable seed; his patriotism must burn not with the heat of passion, but the glow of heaven; in history he traces the path of Providence and the footsteps of God; and at the most distant limit to which the reveries of earthly perfectionists extend, *he* stands only on the margin of that infinite and immortal future, which his faith discerns, and in which his faith confides. The preacher

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has before him the whole range of nature — the visible and audible revelation of God, with all the truth and piety which it contains and inspires. The minister of the Creator ought surely to be familiar with his works; and if there be any heart which they can kindle with a pure enthusiasm, that heart ought to be his. The prophets, the great preachers of old, uplifted the soul through visible sublimity to the Eternal Spirit; yet strange that religion, which in itself is highest poetry, should so often in our modern pulpit be turned to meanest and tamest prose. Ministers cannot be poets or prophets, but it is always desirable, they should be men of sensibility; men of "natural piety." An overloaded imagery drawn from external objects we utterly denounce. We wish not to hear incessantly of suns, stars, skies, oceans, mountains, with their *lofty sublimity;* but we would have the impression of a soul that had sympathy with greatness in any of the forms stamped by the hand of the Almighty; we eschew all poetico-sentimental dissertations in sermons upon fields and flowers, woods and vales; yet with the simplicity of taste and freshness of sentiment which the love of such objects nourishes we would not willingly dispense. We would not have prosaic moralizings on the change of seasons, but we look for that seriousness of thought and reflection, which proves that years have not passed in vain or unobserved; and we cannot help thinking that, if such tastes were more cultivated, sermons would have more interest. But, above all, the preacher has the Bible, the household and holy Book, the book of the affections, of the conscience, of faith and hope — the book of childhood and of age, the guide of life and the consolation of death; and from this treasury he can draw forth things old and new, which need but a living utterance to give them living power. We dwell not on the varied wisdom and sublimity of the Old Testament; but in the New, not to enlarge on its boundless riches of narrative and precept, what mind or minds, what age or number of ages will ever exhaust the moral meanings contained in the character of Christ; and when will any individual or community ever translate into action the perfect lesson of his example? Whatever, therefore, may be drawn from man's history or destiny; from feeling or from faith; from imagination or memory; from the heart, from the home, from the love of country or the love of man, from the universe or from the Bible, is fairly within the dominion of the pulpit. When we say this, we are not

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so unreasonable or so unjust as to imply that each single preacher should fill up the outline we have traced. Such a man would indeed be, what Charles the Second of England called Doctor Isaac Barrow, a most unfair preacher, for he would leave nobody else anything to say. But if the pulpit has such manifold resources in the heart and conscience, in the domestic relations, in the outward world, in all that concerns man, past and future, how comes it then that our modern pulpit can possibly have the sameness of which we accuse it? Simply, because it has not used its resources; it has deserted the manifold revelations of God, and clung to the dogmas of theologians and system-makers; it has forsaken the fountains of living waters, and hewn out for itself broken cisterns which can hold no water; is it any wonder, therefore, that the channels should be empty, and have only noisy echoes, where there ought to be abundant and fruitful streams?

The second evil which we intimated in the modern pulpit is its sectarianism, and to that point we now turn our attention. Looking at the question superficially, it would seem strange that the characteristic we have just discussed could possibly be joined with that which we have here stated. What in appearance can be so diverse, in many cases so opposed as the protestant sects? How multifarious their names, and how fierce their controversies! It might hence be concluded, that their opinions and their modes of illustration would be quite as diversified. It is possible, however, to have monotony of thought without unity of heart, and to be bound in the slavery of creeds without being united in the bonds of charity; it is therefore, in no wise inconsistent, to hear parties rail at each other with all the Babel tongues of anger, although essentially they may be but little separated. Great differences make men serious; it is commonly small differences that make them angry. The fiercest wars of the Liliputians concerned breaking the big end or the little end of the egg. So it is that the sects fall out, not because they are far asunder, but because they are so near. But as the sober and thinking portions of mankind take no interest in these polemics, or merely stand by as cool spectators of the combat, to them the pulpit, while it assumes this aspect, can have neither attraction nor authority. We speak this not in scorn but in sorrow, for we know that fine minds and high talents are thus lost to the best hopes and interests of humanity, in beating the air and fighting with phantoms.

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"Our theology," says Foster, the eloquent English Essayist, "is the theology of faction." Few who have calmness and independence sufficient to judge the religious world as it is will dispute the truth of this observation. In reference to the sectarian abuse of Christianity, it may indeed be truly said, that it "gives up to party what was made for mankind." In our modern pulpit there is little eloquence which speaks to the whole man. Rarely do we find — with regret we say it — a truthful, tranquil, loving administration of Christianity; a going forth of great principles and great affections; not the missiles of sectarian contest to be met by sectarian bulwarks, but the rays of that blessed light which melt the very barriers of ice, that would exclude them, into streams that spread life and splendor over a withered soil. Christianity is preached too commonly in a spirit of contention. We meet each other too often on those points at which we are antagonist; as if the only prophecy of Jesus which we desired to fulfill was that one in which he says "I came not to send peace on earth but a sword." We press the dogma of our sect, and we forget or forsake the spirit of our Master. Christian churches may literally use the saying of the great apostle, "without are fightings, within are fears." It ought not so to be. Whether as individuals or as churches we require peace for our moral perfection, not the peace of apathy, but that of charity and toleration. Though occasionally conflict may be necessary to liberty, yet liberty itself is but a means to higher ends, and we value it for the happiness it promotes and secures. If all things great are sown in liberty they are ripened in peace. Struggle may be necessary as a preliminary state; as a permanence it would be misery. The convulsion of disease may renovate the frame, and make returning health a rapture; but the rapture comes not until the convulsion subsides. Tempests may purify our atmosphere, but it is not until the storm and thunder are silent, and the fiery bolt shoots by, and the calm and sunshine come again, that we breathe with freedom, and look unfearing on the quiet face of nature. In the political and moral world the case is similar. The hurricane of a people's passions, generated in a people's wrongs, may shatter the thrones, that for a thousand years were based upon the wretchedness of successive millions, and supported by their tears and blood; yet the very shock that lays them in the dust is for the time a calamity; and it is not until tranquillity re-

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turns, that freedom is known in its blessedness, and felt to be worth the sacrifice it cost. It is not until then its best effects are witnessed; that civilization lifts up a nation to virtue and grandeur, that industry spreads culture on its plains, and worships in safety under the vine and fig-tree it has planted. In religion also, the ministries which develop its noblest sentiments and carry out its best apostleship must work in peace.

If it be said that Christ's religion has yet accomplished little compared with what might have been expected, the defect has been not in the spirit, but the forms with which it has been encumbered. The result of all is, that in this eternal attention to dogmatical distinctions, the intellect and heart of the minister are dwarfed, and the disciples are in the measure of their masters. While a few popular doctrines are continually reiterated, or points of dispute are urged with a zeal that often is but another name for bigotry, all that is serious in Man's moral nature is left untouched; a spurious excitement is mistaken for conversion, bodily impulses for sacred inspirations, and fierce denunciation of a different belief for holy ardor in the cause of Christ. The lovers of peaceful and thoughtful religion grieve; the unbeliever sneers; the intellectual retire to seek in their studies more congenial aliment, and from habitual, proceed to entire absence. The devotees applaud, but the great mass of society is left uninstructed in what they most need instruction, and unimproved in what they most need improvement. That a vast deal of our popular preaching is dogmatical or polemical will not be denied by any person, who is in the habit of hearing or reading our modern sermons; and often under the guise of religious phraseology there is concealed a covert uncharitableness, which the advocate for Christ should blush to utter, which the disciples of Christ should weep to hear. In this our own country of liberty, the most perfect religious freedom has not entirely crushed religious asperity; but what is wanting in polemical rancor, we make up in fanatical extravagance. But, bad as we may be in the warfare of creeds, we thank Providence, that we are free at least from the additional bitterness and burden of a Church Establishment. Yet we do not deprecate controversy, and we would not banish argument from the pulpit — for while men think differently, and think differently they will to the end of the world, controversy and argument must exist by the very necessity of our nature; but, we would have controversy tempered

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with charity, and argument conducted with justice. The polemical, however, in any shape is not that which should uniformly characterize discourses from the Christian pulpit; for although there is a time to pull down, as to all things under the sun, there is a longer time and a more arduous labor required to build up. Let a thoughtful man but take the New Testament in his hand; then contrast its spirit with the battlings of Christendom, and he must lift up his eyes in wonder or bend them down in shame. *We* may not feel this, because from familiarity we have lost our sensibility to the moral beauty of the gospel, and habit has rendered our inconsistency imperceptible. But, as an example, suppose the case of a Mahommedan who should feel aspirations after virtue higher than he knew, and had never seen a Christian, to find in some stray leaf dropped from a traveller's Bible "The Sermon on the Mount," how would his heart burn within him, how would he not say, "this is exactly the teaching that I want — how good and happy must those be who enjoy it!" Imagine him by circumstances thrown into a Christian land amidst the din of sects, where instead of peace, and meekness, and purity of heart, he heard only the clashing of dogma against dogma, and the angry noise of mutual recrimination; it is probable that as Luther returned from Rome a Protestant, he would leave Christendom more a Mahommedan than ever.

What are the prominent difficulties of the pulpit is the most striking consideration that is suggested by the preceding observation. — First, it has to meet the demands of a more diffused and a higher enlightenment. While the pulpit has been engaged in dogmatism or debate; a dogmatism, too, which was worn thread-bare two centuries ago, and debate that ought long since to have been at rest, the press has been moulding the times, or going with them, and applying itself with hearty earnestness to whatever interests or raises man. We speak, as we before observed, of the better influences of the press. But, how, it may be inquired, does this concern the pulpit? Much every way; — especially, inasmuch as it has to confront cultivated intellect instead of submissive faith. Education arouses anxieties unknown to the implicit devotee. In rendering men more deliberative, it renders them less susceptible; and while it weakens the powers of sense, it weakens also the sympathies of passion. Habitual thought restrains or conceals emotion, which by long constraint approaches to extinction. Artificial

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and refined habits of mind thus formed often depress the devotional affections; the intellectual faculties outrun the religious, and study excludes faith. Our times are those in which much is looked for from the men who have influence in the church or in the world. Much religious excitement prevails in our day, but the intellectual excitement is not less; and among those who are just awaking from the sleep of ignorance to a new existence, it has its deepest hold and most manifold dangers. The very eccentricities of intellect, the vagaries and paradoxes of recent speculation, surround the pulpit with new and fresh difficulties. The dangers that arise from intellect alone the pulpit but rarely or ineffectually meets. It has declaimed on the delusions of imagination and the wildness of passion; but it should now be prepared, not only to meet the demands of reason, but to obviate its dangers. The Christian ministry has given a disproportionate attention to the sins and sufferings of passion, but sins and sufferings are also connected with intellect, and these are equally within its scope of influence and sphere of duty. The ministration therefore of the pulpit becomes more arduous with the spread of reading; and though the audience should consist merely of unwashed artificers, preachers must not calculate on uninquiring deference, nor imagine they need but a small amount of mental exertion, to satisfy persons, whose grade of information they would judge by their grade in life. In such inference they will find themselves fatally mistaken. — The pulpit in emulation with the good agency of the press must stand at enmity with the bad. We revere the press as much as any lovers of freedom and knowledge can venerate that which is their great palladium. We are aware that, even in its periodical form, it has been the medium of giving to the world some of the most beautiful productions of genius; but we are also aware, that, in its inferior grades, it has been the pander to every bad and gross passion; to envy, hatred, malice, revenge, and licentiousness: for profit, setting honor, truth, and conscience at defiance; praising or blaming not according to justice, but according to faction; always ready to be bought or bribed; at all hours prepared with a dagger and a masque, which may as easily be had for hire as those of Italian bravoes. That no pen worth using could be turned to such vile purposes it is sincerely to be hoped; for of all species of degradation this hiring of the mind to falsify for pelf all its better sentiments is the basest and the worst. If a man, who had

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ever anything nobler in his nature, should by wretchedness be driven to such mean offices as a refuge from starvation, then we say that poverty has poured out upon his head her last and her most bitter vial. That such publications exist here and in Europe, publications which shrink from no species of venal corruption, from no vileness of mental dishonesty; whose very life is slander, whose breath is obscene and contaminated, we lament to confess in a Christian and a civilized country. And, the circulation of these is principally among the lower grades of the operative classes. The injury they have done, in misleading opinion and debasing morals, is one of the most awful social evils, and of all abuses of the press the most to be deplored. The difficulty, then, of the pulpit in this respect is twofold; namely, to keep pace with the intelligence of the higher press, and to subdue the corruption of the lower.

Secondly. — Our age is one of vast materiality and vast excitement; an age of mechanism and agitation. The powers that work around us are impressive and gigantic. By the agency of steam alone, more is accomplished than was ever painted in the wildest fictions which charmed our childhood. Oceans are made as ferries; extremes of continents as places of immediate neighborhood; one central force can keep thousands in motion: — a man with a dirty jacket sitting on the engine of a railway train turns into contempt all our childish imaginations of the giant with his seven-leagued boots. What was fiction to our grandfathers, is commonplace to us; what to them would have been a wild and airy dream, is to us a real and substantial fact. The astonishing progress of material activity and mechanical invention has dispersed the visions of enthusiasm by which we were once encompassed. The colored lamp in which the light was placed, that gave a thousand hues and figures to our sight, is broken: the hues and figures have vanished with the broken lamp, and to advanced experience the naked lustre alone remains. The world's youth seems past. Hitherto, it has dreamed and fancied, imagined and reflected; now it is to *work:* philosophy and poetry are daily issuing into action, and science is discarding soul. When we speak of science thus, we mean that which is now most prevalent, the science of things limited and tangible. In these we have, no doubt, amazing agencies, majestic to the senses, and even sublime to thought; but, still, they are all material, and form a bottomless gulph in which the individualities of mind are buried

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by millions. Evidence there may be of profound intellect in the originator, but it is intellect operating through material media, and using the men whom it employs not so much as thinking beings as the adjuncts of machinery. The direct tendency is to reduce all skilled industry to monotonous uniformity, and to render successive millions of human beings the automatons of mechanistic despotism. Habits generated from influences like these are the most remote from those, which it is the office of the pulpit to instil; a sense of inward existence, of a spirit superior to the outward and the perishable, and of a free and responsible will.

We have said that our age is one of excitement; and such it is for religion, politics, and wealth. We have in the religious world whole forests of societies, with so many cross-paths and so much intricacy, that simple piety and philanthropy become bewildered in their mazes. We have, also, so many preachers, at least in our towns, so quick a succession of services, and so continual an administration of religious stimulants, that the head grows giddy, and one sermon stifles another. We stop not here to descant on excitement in politics; for since the building of Babel, politics have been clamorous with a many-tongued confusion; on this point, we cannot single out one age from another. The passion for power is universal and indestructible, from the statesman, that by a magnificent genius rules half a world, to the pot-house factionist, that by strength of lungs drowns the vociferations of a club. But, wealth has never been pursued with a more absorbing desire, than in the present age; yet the pursuit is not so much in a hoarding spirit, as in a passionate enthusiasm. Ambition, vanity, emulation; artificial wants, created by artificial life; a false standard of competence, and an idea of happiness still more false, urge men onward in this career with an intensity that engrosses every faculty and fills the whole life with care.

Our age, moreover, so far as it is not fanatical, is one of skepticism; and by skepticism, we do not mean merely what is implied in conventional phraseology, — an outward disregard to religious institutions, nor even professed disbelief in the doctrines of Christianity. It is not the philosophical skepticism of Hume, which destroying all grounds of conviction, in its very extreme carried its own cure. That which admits of no certainty in any form of evidence leaves all evidence as it

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had been. The reasonings of Hume had no force even to himself out of his closet; they could never have influence on the opinions of mankind, and to the philosophical they can be only subjects of metaphysical amusement. Nor is our skepticism like that of Voltaire, one of wit and scorn, joining sarcasm with ridicule, and in place of direct logic using the sting of insinuation. Ours is a skepticism, that, though less defined, lies deeper and is more dangerous; a skepticism, not so much in opinion as in sentiment; not so much the skepticism of criticism as of indifference. The material world so presses us on every side, and an immediate utility is so interwoven with our actions and philosophy, that all else appear nonentities. We are as the disciple Thomas; we must see with our eyes and touch with our hands or we will not be convinced; and, what we see and touch must have some alliance with our interest, to be for us of any value or importance. Our Saviour said, "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe;" blessed, also, and blessed above measure are those who understand the full import of that saying. The faith of the heart has waxed cold, the ears are dull of hearing; and a hard and rigid matter-of-fact philosophy has grown upon us, in which the divine and the ideal are never dreamt of. Thence, the past, the distant, and the future, by apprehension of which, as Doctor Johnson taught, we rise in the scale of intelligent beings, have lost their power on us; and thence also disinterested actions, and a sense of right which defies consequences come to be regarded as the mere dreams of amiable enthusiasts. From such reasoners the progressive capacities of human nature meet with equal mockery, and with its capacities depart its claims. Incessant contact with the *actual* has blunted our perception of the *ideal;* that moral imagination has grown insensible, which reveals to our souls the pure and beautiful, whether in the divine character or the human; in the actions of men or in the works of the Creator. The faith of sympathy, by which we realize all that is not palpable, has weakened into feebleness, and in the same proportion have our reverence and admiration. It is not that the faculties are destroyed; but they slumber. The faculties which bind man to the invisible cannot be destroyed; they are stronger than those which unite him to the visible; the one shall perish, the others remain forever. And, there is no man, however low or brutish, who does not on occasions feel this in his own experience;

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occasions when the strongest shrink at the idea of death and judgment; when the hero forgets his glory and the miser forgets his gain. Sunk we may be in the very depths of materiality, yet times there are, of sober reflections and visitings of thought, that make us sadder as they make us wiser, when we cannot shut out unseen things, nor even subdue our desire for them; times when we feel that the wishes which were as fire in our breast were but delusions, the love of glory a splendid falsehood, and outward advantages without inward peace but the mockeries of our wretchedness; times when we learn the emptiness of riches, the vanities of rank, the dependency of power, the burden of fame, the changes of life — the uncertainty of all. Then we look for other objects of desire; our ideas rise from sense to faith, from the seen to the unseen, from the house of clay to the temple of the Eternal; feeling that passion sinks as we wane in life; that the brilliancy of earth fades the more we gaze upon it; that mutability attends all with which we are here connected; we long at last for something beyond the passions, time, and change; something of which no vicissitude in this world can rob us, which we can have or hope for though the eye should lose its sight and the ear its hearing, though riches should be no more, and earthly expectations blasted forever. *Then* we turn to God who cannot alter, and to a future world which cannot end. But, although the tendencies that impel us thus to look beyond the space we live in are inherent and indestructible, there are periods unfavorable to their exercise; and such a one is the present. There is a moral as well as theological skepticism; our times are those of moral skepticism. Popular odium is principally directed against the theological unbeliever, but the skeptic of the heart is infinitely the worse. One may believe theologically, even to superstition, yet be morally a skeptic, — a skeptic to all that is good, fair, generous, and great; one may doubt because he cannot help it, yet have faith unconquerable in everlasting truth and goodness. To make our distinction a little more clear we will adduce for each part of it a single illustration. Louis the Fourteenth, it is well known, was in the close of his life as stanch a devotee, as he had ever been an inveterate persecutor. He was, it is true, not the right-minded believer, but he was no skeptic, and this is all our argument requires. Take then the following anecdote of him. "Marechal, his surgeon, observing him unusually

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melancholy, ventured to hint some fears of his health. The monarch acknowledged in general terms, that he suffered great uneasiness from the posture of his affairs. Eight or ten days after, having recovered his ordinary tranquillity, he sent for Marechal, and, taking him aside — 'Now' said he, 'that I feel myself at ease, I will relate to you the cause of my anxiety, and by what means I got rid of it.' He proceeded to inform him, that the necessity of his affairs having compelled him to impose new taxes on his people, his reluctance to make free with their property, and his compassion for their distress, had greatly affected him. 'At length,' said he, 'I opened my mind to Father Tellier, who required some days to consider on the subject. He has now brought me a consultation of the most subtle doctors of Sorbonne, who all agree, that as the whole property of my subjects is personally mine, I can take nothing from them but what is my own. This decision has restored me to the tranquillity I had lost.'" We see here how far a man can be credulous and cruel; or rather, we see how easily, a devout casuist can suit his faith to his practice and his passions. Contrast with this the case of Madame Roland, unbeliever as she was, strong in the faith of rectitude and humanity, maintaining that faith in the midst of tyrants and on the bloody scaffold. Put, then, the theological unbelief of the heroic woman against the moral unbelief of the superstitious despot, and our distinction will be at once apprehended. Skepticism on great truths we deplore in any shape; but if we had the power of choice we would say, "at all events," keep the moral nature trustful and pure, and the wanderings of judgment may be corrected by the experience of the heart, and in time, right sentiment may produce right belief.

We have thus, briefly as we could, stated a few of the difficulties, with which in the present day the pulpit has to contend. The pulpit is the great expositor of religion, and as religion is an essential element in human nature it can never be extinguished. The duty therefore, which it cannot desert, it must gird on strength to accomplish. The pulpit has a solemn position and a solemn duty, a duty, not to sect but to society, and not alone to society but to the world, and to the world in all its grandest relations. — In what spirit, then, must it go to this noble and glorious work? It must take with it a human and kindly Christianity, and peace and good will must be its

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message. It must not have a creed in one hand and a thunder-bolt in the other; but it must rather take the hymn in which a Saviour's birth was sung, and the cross on which a Saviour's love was proved. — It must have freedom, but it must *not* have harshness and prejudice: it must be as the mercy it proclaims, impartial and unconfined; like the sun-lit dew by which that mercy is figured, falling on the most retired and lowly spots, and coming from a bright and all-embracing heaven. It must have power, and power sanctified; a power great in its very rest, which like Elijah's prayer cleaves the skies and draws down fire from above. We can easily discern what should be the spirit of the pulpit: we cannot so easily specify what should be its form. Young men, preparing for the ministry, used once to be directed to the classic age of the French Church for models of pulpit oratory; but such a custom is far better broken than observed. Many of the French preachers were supreme in thought and utterance, for their own times and for their own purposes. Their productions live in the literature of the world, and will live while the world has a literature. All oratory must be suited to its age and to its auditories. The eloquence of Bossuet, lofty and massive at it was, would not have melted, as Whitfield's did, the miners of Cornwall; nor would the sentiments of Fenelon, with his silvery elocution, have fallen with the same power on an English multitude as the shrill declamation of Wesley. Though we were able to call from the dead Bourdaloue, serious, logical, cold, and clear; or Massillon, full of fervor and pathos; we cannot bring back their age, their church, their ceremonies, and their congregations. The solemn mass; the deep-toned choir; the courtly audience; the lofty pillars, and the fretted aisles, were all proper concomitants of their eloquence; but that is not the eloquence which we most need. *They* discoursed before the satiated and voluptuous on the sinfulness of worldly pleasures; our ministers are more frequently called on to give a solace for worldly pains. *They*, speaking to those who were gorged with all they could desire in life, threw an awful terror around the bed of death; but our preachers speak to numbers who have not had life in its fulness but its wants, and for whom there is no brightness if it rest not on the grave. *They* addressed an ambitious aristocracy on the vanity of earthly glory; it is more frequently the duty of our ministers to elevate men to a sense of their heavenly and human dignity. They

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discoursed on life and death; and though on both they discoursed most eloquent music, much of their declamation was false in spirit and false in fact.

What then is the kind of preaching likely to suit the times, to meet the wants and requirements of the age? In a few words we shall say what it must *not* be. It must not be a dull enunciation called "rational"; nor a cold disquisition denominated "ethical"; nor a textual compound without connexion or unity, dignified with the epithet of "scriptural." We cannot accept for a Christian sermon a composition wanting in all that a Christian sermon ought to have, warmth, energy, tenderness, pathos, elevation of thought and spirituality of sentiment.

We have already said sufficient to show the necessity of cultivated intellect in preaching; but more is still needed, as may be seen by a glance at the difficulties we have enumerated. The pulpit must become more *adaptive*. We use a new word, but we have no other that so well defines our idea. It is the great beauty of the Gospel, as it was of Christ's own personal ministry, that it suits every age and every class. Christ instructed all, and in every place; the priest, the scribe, the fisherman, the sinful woman and the pure; in the temple, in the market-place, in the dwelling, along the highway, on the hill-side, by the well, and his preaching was always modified according to character and circumstances. So should ever be the administration of his religion. Christianity is not a set of hard and dry propositions, but a vital and diffusive spirit, which can mingle with the whole moral life and sanctify it in every action. In these days, preaching must diversify its topics and widen the field of its ministry. Instead of dogmas, it must take principles; principles it must apply to practice; and practice implies the whole character and conduct of man in all his relations, personal, domestic, and public. Abstractions and theories in religion do not touch the heart or reform the life. We must therefore be made to feel that religion is our highest interest, by intimate and vivid associations. Active and thinking men seek in the pulpit what they desire everywhere, simplicity and earnestness; but exaggeration they despise and avoid. Now, it unfortunately happens, that exaggeration is the great sin of our modern preachers. In most of their declamatory descriptions, the world and all things therein are evil and accursed; a pall is on the heavens and darkness

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on the earth; and but a favored few are saved from this present and prospective hell. States of feeling the most sickly and unsound are given as religious sentiment, and appeals made to the pious which can only tend to nourish the most egregious self-conceit. Persons, who know the world and human nature as they are, grow disgusted with all this; and the men who utter it they cannot help thinking fools or hypocrites. They are well aware that earth is not a Paradise, but they are equally sure that it is not a Pandemonium; they are conscious that humanity is not perfect, but they will not believe the rhapsodies which would make it appear Satanic. Truth, then, must be adhered to in descriptions of experience as well as in statements of principles; in experience above all, for the hearer has the test within himself, and if he finds that stated as a certainty, which is false to his entire consciousness and remote from all his associations, he loses trust in the speaker and perhaps makes shipwreck of his faith. If men are worldly, the more need to convince them that religion has a substantial existence; if ardent, to breathe a pure inspiration into their enthusiasm; if skeptical, to display with more force the reality and grandeur of Christ's character; and it is required that these principles should be pressed on men in connexion with their habitual feelings and pursuits. Morality, as commonly taught in the pulpit, is the most vague of generalities; having neither distinctness of analysis nor force of application. Preaching, without losing elevation or spirituality, should assume more directness; meet the mechanic at his bench, the trader at his desk, and all according to their several positions and obligations. Preachers must not take for granted that because the principles of duty are uniform and unchangeable, all men therefore view right and wrong through the same medium or judge them by the same standard. There is a conventional morality with which most persons satisfy the world and their conscience; they are not worse than others in their trade or profession, and they all have common cause not to be too critical or uncharitable. A sophistry of this kind, which eats away the very life of virtue, can never be successfully combated in the pulpit, except by an application to the details of life, that is as searching as it is accurate. And while we would have preaching become thus intelligibly practical, we neither secularize nor degrade it. We do not desire from the pulpit a lecture on metaphysics, a dissertation on political economy, or a ha-

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rangue on daily politics; but we would have that from it for which Christianity was intended, counsel in all our difficulties and guidance in all our duties. Preachers as they arise should be trained for the age in which they are to labor. We cannot frequently have genius, but we may hope for zeal and nature; we may not look for a dazzling eloquence, but we may for what is better and more effective, moral power flowing from moral sympathy, which, if it does not create the classic oratory that is immortalized on earth, trains the sainted virtue that ascends to heaven. We ask not for men to arouse a world, but we despair not of those who can sanctify a church. We hope for men to arise and multiply, who shall come armed for the temper of the times; who shall come moulded, but not corrupted, by the influences amidst which they live; imbued with the religion they are to administer, an earnest and awakening Christianity; who shall come with that practical sagacity, which joined with high sentiment rises into wisdom; who shall come with right knowledge quickened by right enthusiasm, with the fire which is enkindled in the sanctuary, that warms and fertilizes while it enlightens and beautifies.

But when the pulpit has done all it can do, and done it in the best manner, there are still many in moral destitution whom it cannot reach. The energetic benevolence of modern times has made efforts to meet this great spiritual want, in the establishment of City-missions and of the ministries at large. As to the need of them, it is only to be wondered it was not sooner felt; but even late, we hail this establishment. We lament in our common religious phraseology the sin and misery of past times and of distant nations; we multiplied misionaries and we accumulated funds to carry the gospel to the extremities of the earth, but we seemed to forget that as great sin and misery were at our doors; and while we wailed over the wretchedness of the heathen, we thought not that only a brick wall, perhaps, stood between us and crime as deep as ever the olden ages knew, and misery as great as lowest savages endure. The secluded lane was morally as unknown to the grand street behind which it stood, as a nook in the interior of Africa; and a groan in the one perished as unheard and as unnoticed as a groan in the other. Without the form, there existed in the dark retreats of the civilized world all the abominations of idolatry; and without the dedication of temples to vile and evil demons, there was in the hidden places of poverty and crime

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a multitude of victims to the worst principles which their names embodied. The domestic ministry has done much to break down these partitions, which kept one half the world ignorant about the condition of the other; it has entered the dens of neglected vice and desolation, and made revelations on the state of the poor and the forsaken, of which "good, easy" people had never dreamt. Without crossing oceans to Africa, Hindostan, or New Zealand, it has found in our own cities a terra incognita of manifold ignorance, crime, and sorrow; and while men's sympathies were wafting to the poles, it has recalled them to their thresholds. May it continue to go forward and increase, for there is yet a mighty work to be accomplished, and blessed indeed are the laborers, who shall be called to it, and who shall be found worthy of it. Of all ministries, it is that which most resembles Christ's: which goes to men's homes and to their hearts; which looks for the wretched and the lost, and which not merely calls but seeks; of all ministries, it is that which requires most of Christ's spirit, and which divested of all declamatory pomp must go at once to the soul in the strong persuasiveness of a true and sympathizing humanity. Domestic missions are not yet as numerous as they might be, and as they will be; but so far as they have gone, there is abundance of reason to look gratefully on the origin of the institution, and to hope largely for the future. Already they have done good beyond calculation, and our hope is high, when we think of what they are destined to fulfill. How many in the last wretchedness of despair have been found out in their sunless lairs; how many in the pangs of unhoping poverty, in the madness of forlorn ruin; how many in starving and houseless sin, outcast from the good, and with no pity from those as bad as themselves; how many in the pangs of death, who long for consolation as the hart for the water brooks; how many of the virtuous sitting low in uncomplaining resignation; how many of all these have been discovered in the wilderness of modern society by researches of domestic ministers, who brought light to their dwellings and salvation to their souls; confidence to the weak in heart, and strength to those who were ready to perish? Christ's spirit and Christ's peace be on their labors! To these we may add a great mass of voluntary preachers, as distinguished from the regular and settled ministry. Both on this side and the other of the Atlantic very many congregations could not afford to support a

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pastor, and therefore necessity, made more urgent by piety, compels them to arrange the services among themselves; and those who are most competent lead the devotions of the others. Congregations we know, who have thus grown up strong in faith and virtue, and progressive in numbers and in power; men, humble men, but honest; men of lowly rank, but eloquent with the force which truth and sincerity inspire, have become hoary as their unpaid teachers; working with their hands and among their fellows during the week, but standing first and most revered among them on the Sabbath; and without either crosier or mitre they have never failed to receive that veneration, which is always willingly given to the pure and single-hearted. And what a noble honor is theirs! — men, who after their six-days' toil can on the seventh disenthral themselves from earth, pass from the laborer to the pastor, minister to their brethren the glories of an upper world, point to brighter worlds, and lead the way; men who in simplicity, fervor, and success, do an apostle's office with an apostle's disinterestedness.

In conclusion, we look on to the future confidingly. With a press free and diffusive; with a literature growing cheap as it becomes more elevated; with increasing facilities in the fine arts, to habituate the sight of all classes to forms of grace and beauty, and tune their ears to the music of sweet sounds; with the spread of a peaceful and moral civilization, and a widening community by means of science and commerce; with education in Sunday and week-schools, enlarging in domain as it is improving its methods, we trust also to see the pulpit honorably fill its own place in the grand work of moral redemption and moral progression.

H. G.

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John Quincy Day

ART. III.—1. *A Sermon on the Present Crisis in the Missionary Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.* By RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D., one of the Secretaries of the Board. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 1840.

2. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.* September, 1839. pp. 175.

THE present is called a skeptical age, and so far as formal dogmas are concerned, it cannot be denied; there is not an undecaying stone in the old temple. The world, however, has too long been familiar with this tendency to doubt or deny old formularies of faith, to look upon it with any extravagant horror or alarm; we are able to trace it back with an unbroken thread beyond the sixteenth century; nor do we perceive that it is more destructive now, than it has been at any time for the last three hundred years. Still it would be a source of reasonable fear, were it true that the world becomes skeptical of religion itself, as it grows old and hardened in its habits of questioning and rejecting the forms by which its fathers lived. But we believe that the reverse is the truth. As creeds and dogmas have softened or melted away, religion has been gradually gaining fresh strength and vigor, and a higher and more permanent power over the minds of men. We see nothing around us which really manifests that it is in any wise approaching to decay. It is less a matter of tradition, less an affair of feeling and passion; it appeals less to the imagination and the fears of man, but finds a firmer support in the reason and an enlightened moral sense. There is no dispute that God exists; each of the three great parties into which the Christian world is divided strenuously maintains the doctrine, and each contends that it holds the only principles on which it can be demonstrated. Never before, we believe, was religion sincerely and rationally embraced by so many intelligent minds. Never before were the charities which flow from it so multiplied and various; never before did it exert so great and beneficial an influence on the social code. It accomplishes less and less, indeed, for the church as an institution, which has lost its ancient glory forever, and more and more for the interests of humanity.

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Into the proofs of these positions we are not now at liberty to enter. There is, however, one striking phenomenon, which goes to demonstrate that religion is far from being worn out with age, which shows that it is still acting after centuries of doubt and revolution, with undiminished if not with increasing power. We refer to the modern missionary enterprise. This movement we cannot but regard as one of the most prominent and characteristic features of the time. It wears all the marks not of a temporary, enthusiastic, popular impulse, like the crusades, but of sustained, steady, permanent action. Although it is carried forward by a multiplicity of sects, whose views on various religious topics are far from being coincident, yet there is a remarkable uniformity of opinion respecting its fundamental objects, and the nature of the means to be employed for the accomplishment of them; and it needs only a common name, to be known as a thoroughly organized and stable institution. It is in the strictest sense a religious institution; its object is the conversion, not the civilization of the world; its friends are even over anxious lest the former should by any means yield in interest to the latter. Temporal results, however auspicious, are viewed but as feathers in the balance, compared with the everlasting welfare of the soul. It is in a singular degree a work of faith, — faith in religion, — or less abstractly, in the promises of God. And this indeed it must be, if sustained at all; because the religious conversion of the world, in the sense in which these terms are usually understood, becomes continually more difficult and more hopeless. It is no longer the work of the church as such, acting with unquestioned views and authority; it is the spontaneous effort of the mass of the Christian world, at least in protestant countries, and is essentially a popular movement. Thence it affords an obvious proof not only that religion has not suffered any decay in its spirit and essence, but that it acts with greater power, and that man's need of it is felt more deeply than ever.

Perhaps it may be a visionary and hopeless project after all. Yet every one must confess, we think, that it carries with it something of vastness and grandeur. The object itself, which looks forward to the time when the whole earth shall repose in peace under the shadow of the same faith, makes it sublime; while the spirit with which it is embraced, and the energy with which it is carried on, the variety of means it has brought

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into action, the army of its agents and the extent of their operations, penetrating as they do to the remotest corners of the habitable globe, give it an additional greatness. It is, we confess, an enterprise on which we look with great favor. It is mainly the business of those whose doctrinal views differ widely from our own; yet how superior is Christianity in any of its forms as professed at the present day, how superior the duties it inculcates, to any of the manifestations of paganism? No one can doubt that any heathen nation would be vastly improved by substituting any form of modern Orthodoxy for its own superstitions. Let Christianity be introduced everywhere, if it can be, and let the purification of it be left to time. We acknowledge ourselves converts also to the common opinion, that foreign missions exert a beneficial influence on the minds of Christians at home, in fostering the spirit of religion and benevolence. They are not without utility in increasing the general intelligence of the country; no small amount of information respecting the condition and prospects of most nations of the world is diffused far and wide among all classes by missionary journals, reports, and lectures. To the more scientific inquirer the missionary has furnished many valuable contributions in Philology, Geography, and other departments of no less interest. In several instances he has accomplished the task of reducing the merely oral to written language. These considerations, so often repeated by the friends of the cause, are sufficient to gain for it a respectful consideration. The common objections which are made to it, apart from its apparent want of success, seem to us of little weight. The one most urged is, that a great amount of money is annually expended on distant nations, which is needed and ought to be spent in works of benevolence at home. But it is very questionable whether, if this wastegate were shut, any larger volume of the stream would find its way into the channels of domestic charity. The maxim, indeed, that "charity begins at home," a maxim which it were well if those who repeat it so often would practise more, is founded in nature; and it would be sufficiently preposterous to substitute for it the principle of that imposing philosophy, which tells us that we must begin at the outer circle and wind our way to the centre. Yet experience teaches, we believe, that as the spirit of faith and good will is expanded by objects abroad, it will rise some degrees on the scale at home; there must be in truth a mutual action and

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reaction. The mere pecuniary objection, that a certain amount of money is sent out of the country, which does not return to it in any shape, in a cause like this deserves no attention.

Whether, however, the missionary enterprise, as at present conducted, will meet with that success which is so confidently looked for by its most ardent advocates, seems to us extremely doubtful. The very magnitude of the object, which is nothing less than to convert the whole world simultaneously, and which, by its vastness and grandeur, recommends itself so powerfully to many minds, will be found, we believe, to be in a great degree the source of disappointment and defeat, unless the Deity should choose by some irresistible influence to renovate the world at once without human instrumentality. The means to be used are comparatively very limited, while the object is not so. If it were proposed only to convert the world by slow stages, in conformity with the law of progress by which society has always been governed, the case might not seem hopeless; but "the coming of the Lord" must be hastened, and the regeneration of every part of the globe must go on with equal steps. And not only is it proposed to make disciples of the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Pagan, but strenuous efforts are making to convert the doubtful Christians of Asia and even to re-christianize, or as it is termed evangelize some of the most refined nations of modern Europe. Under these circumstances it is manifest that all the means which the whole Christian world can bring to bear upon the enterprise must be excessively diffused, so attenuated that it is difficult to discern how a great and permanent influence can be exerted at any one point, unless it be among a few of the more barbarous tribes on those minor Islands, which are separated by wide spaces from the rest of the world, and with whom conversion is less difficult. This diffusion of means must be still more excessive, because the Christian community does not use its resources in common. Every sect aims on its own account, to establish not only one efficient mission, but as many missions and stations as possible; and each believes that it must interpret literally for itself the command to preach the gospel everywhere. The American Board alone, which is supported only by the Orthodox Congregationalists, and a part of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches, has twenty-six missions and eighty stations, beginning at the Sandwich Islands, and extending thence to the Indians on this continent from Oregon to the Abenaquis;

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thence to Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, Syria and Palestine, Persia, Bombay, the Carnatic, and the southern extremity of Hindoostan, Ceylon, Siam, China, Singapore, Borneo, and Southern and Western Africa. And how is it possible that a force, in itself small, so widely scattered, should not be everywhere weak and ineffectual? With one or two exceptions it is manifestly so. In many cases the missionaries, from the insignificance of their numbers, are plied excessively hard, overworked, and perhaps, in some instances worked to death. Everywhere they cry "give us more men and more funds," not because they are impatient of toil — for a more devoted and faithful race of servants, we believe, cannot be found; but because, if anything is to be accomplished, there is urgent need of them; while the missions are so distant from each other, that they cannot act in concert. "There never was a time," says Mr. Thompson, missionary of the American Board, "in the history of the Syrian Mission, when men and means were so much needed, or where there was such a wide field for labor. It was very trying and extremely discouraging at such a moment, [referring to a religious excitement among the Druses] not only to find our number so reduced; but above all to find our hands, few and feeble as they were, absolutely tied for want of funds. I spent many days in trying to make means where actually there were none, and was obliged to settle down in the disheartening conclusion, that we had not one dollar to meet this emergency." * In reviewing the year 1838, the Madura Mission thus urge their claims; "The prospects of the mission were never more flattering. The whole land is before us and open to the introduction of gospel truth. All our experience and all the information we possess on the subject constrains us to say, Arise, and go in and possess the land. Schools to almost any extent, and on the most evangelical principles, might be established. There are none to molest or make us afraid. Does not the providence of God point the church to India as a promising field to cultivate? But alas we have neither the means nor the men to occupy it, and the prospect is that, in spite of all we can do, another generation, ready for the reception of the gospel, must go down to the grave before the land will be fully occupied." † To the same effect write the missionaries from Borneo. Even the circumscribed and favorite mission to the

* Report, p. 90. † Ibid. p. 109.

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Sandwich Islands, where the number of laborers is considerably greater than that of any other mission, amounting in fact to more than one sixth of the whole force at the command of the Board, speaks strongly of its necessities. "Common schools, as well as all other schools on the Islands, are suffering for want of books. How shall these wants be supplied? The people are poor and in a vast number of cases unable to buy a book, except with such articles as will be of little avail to the printing department. How then can our printing establishment be sustained, except by funds from abroad? Funds we receive, but they must be greatly increased or our schools cannot prosper."* In connexion with this we may mention the fact, that "two years since, a press was sent from this country for the Nestorian Mission, and a font of type was procured for it in London, which have been idle and useless from the first, for want of a printer; and the mission have been obliged to depend for school books and tracts on the slow labors of the pen, just as if the art of printing had never been discovered."†

The stipends of the missions belonging to the American Board we are told, "are in many cases painfully small."‡ And how should they be otherwise? To maintain twenty-six missions, including eighty stations, the sum total of receipts for the year ending July 1st, 1839, was 244,170 dollars. Of this amount upwards of 21,000 dollars went to defray outfits and expenditures of missionaries previous to embarkation, the passage out, and the passage of return missionaries, with their expenses while visiting this country; 6,200 to pay in part salaries of secretaries, treasurer, and clerks; 6,984 for printing Annual Reports, Missionary Heralds for gratuitous distribution, &c.; 8,965 to pay agents; and 4,565 for miscellaneous expenses; leaving less than 200,000 to meet the actual cost of the whole enterprise, including the travelling expenses of missionaries, or something less on the average than 2,500 dollars for each station—a sum sufficiently small. Under such circumstances as these it seems to us that many of the missions must drag out a painful existence, and that there must be a great expenditure of time and labor to no purpose.

At all events it would seem to be the part of wisdom to narrow the field and concentrate the energies of the Board on a few points. We might then look with a good degree of con-

* Report, p. 132. † Sermon, p. 9. ‡ Ibid. p. 3.

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fidence for extensive and permanent results. This is a suggestion, however, to which neither those who support missions, nor those who manage their concerns will listen for a moment. Instead of contraction expansion is the law, new fields are every day explored and new projects pondered. Indeed it is thought that to decrease the circle of operations would be to sound the death knell of the whole enterprise. According to Dr. Anderson, the greatest hindrance to the progress of missions at the present moment, is "the familiarity which the last three years have occasioned with the idea of reducing missions, and detaining missionaries." The charm that there once was in the steady onward progress of the work has been broken,* and the Christian community is solemnly warned against permitting such things in future. Yet the reduction of the number of missions would give, we believe, additional strength to the cause. It would enable a few to act with more power and efficiency, and with more obvious and permanent results than the whole number now so feebly supported. The confidence of the community would rest on real and tangible effects, without which it must ultimately grow suspicious, however strong may be the popular faith in the providence of God. A want of visible effects, in a considerable degree proportionate to the expectations of the Christian world, must at last be fatal; and on reading the report of the Board for the last year, we have been surprised to find how little there is encouraging, as it appears to our mind, in the prospects of many of the missions, and to what an extent the hope of the missionary rests on faith alone. Frequently, indeed, an apparent eagerness to hear and read is manifested by the people, but it is to be feared, too often from wondering curiosity, or from motives which do not seem to promise any radical and permanent conversion. In 1838 and 1839 an extraordinary religious excitement, as it is termed, prevailed among the Druses, a warlike Mohammedan tribe inhabiting the mountains of Lebanon, in consequence of which visitors from all parts of Lebanon thronged the house of Mr. Thompson at Lamica, and among them several sheiks, declaring that they could not return to the mountains till they were received and baptized. "But," says the Report, "the Druses have long been noted for deception on all matters appertaining to religion, and their motives in

* Sermon, p. 5.

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the present case are believed to have been, in part, to secure some political immunities by adopting the Christian profession;" perhaps, "to avoid being pressed into the Pacha's army, — an evil, to which, by a singular fortune, only moslems were then subject." * However, one Druse man has been baptized, with his wife and six children, the first Mohammedans baptized by Americans in Syria. The Committee do not believe that the motives suggested will fully account for this singular excitement. To us they appear sufficient; and we should expect to hear that the stir entirely subsided, especially as the hands of the missionaries were tied, and they had not a man to send into the mountains. This, unsatisfactory as it is, is the most encouraging occurrence that we have been able to find in the Report, except the prodigious number of converts made at the Sandwich Islands in the years 1837–8, which amounts, we are told, to five thousand received into the churches, and two thousand four hundred propounded for admission. It is doubtful, however, whether this great accession is the result of permanent conversion. "We fear," says one of the missionaries, "that the increase of strength to our churches has not been in proportion to the increase of numbers. We fear, also, that we may have erred in judgment, in some cases, in receiving too hastily into the church those who profess to have been converted; and we may have occasion, hereafter, to regret having done so." † "The Board," say the Committee, "will regret the haste with which converts were to the number of many hundreds admitted into the church." ‡ The number of members in the seventeen churches of these Islands in 1838 was six thousand; and the number in all the churches under the care of the Board is only twice as great. The aggregate will appear insignificant, perhaps, when it is remembered that the first missionaries embarked nearly thirty years ago; to us it certainly appears less than might have been attained, had not the disposable means of the institution been so excessively diffused.

The course of policy to which we have referred is especially demanded of those societies which are dependant on the volunteer contributions of the community, and are liable to have their resources diminished or cut off when the general interest in the cause ebbs, however slightly, or when the monetary affairs

* Report, pp. 84–90. † Ib. pp. 84–90. ‡ Ib. p. 129.

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of the country are deranged. The American Board has recently been severely affected in this way. In the year 1837 the Committee were obliged to reduce the expenses of the missions forty thousand dollars, or about one fifth of the expenditure of the previous year to avoid a threatening debt of seventy-five thousand dollars; and at the present moment another, and still greater reduction is feared. It is estimated that the expenditure of the current year, on the present scale, will not fall short of 284,000 dollars, while "the receipts of the last five months of the year 1839, were 38,000 dollars less than in the same months of the previous year. At this rate the deficiency for the current year would be not much short of one hundred thousand dollars. The receipts would be only two thirds of what they were in each of the last three years. If the Board receive only two thirds of what is necessary to sustain its present system of missions, it must obviously cut down the missions one third. This, considering all things, would be a reduction immeasurably more calamitous, than that which occasioned so much grief and distress two years ago. Nor can the evil be divided now, as it was then, among all the missions. The allowances to each are now fixed, and are on a reduced scale, graduated to what experience has shown to be *necessary to their very existence.* "We can cut into scarcely any of them again without reaching the life-blood. No! if there is another reduction it must be by diminishing the number of missions." * This is sufficiently alarming. But why not take the alternative, and place the enterprise on a surer foundation not liable to be undermined by such fluctuations? Why not adopt it as a fixed principle, that only so many missions shall be fostered, as can be carried forward with the utmost energy and efficacy, without liability to be permanently deprived of their strength by accident?

To these considerations, which seem to demonstrate the necessity of setting limits to the enterprise, there is to be added another, which seems to us of no little weight, and is to be found in the fact that the conversion of the world becomes a more difficult task with every succeeding age, and hence, that whatever is attempted should be done with the utmost energy and promptness, — and this notwithstanding the increased facilities which, in some respects, the advanced state of the world now offers to the missionary. The missionary of the

* Sermon, p. 6.

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present age cannot make use of means which are fitted to act powerfully on the savage or half civilized mind, which in former times were used without scruple. The ostensible effects of the more recent missions cannot be compared with those of an earlier date, — those, for instance, which were instituted between the fifth and fifteenth centuries; we say ostensible effects, because it took a thousand years thoroughly to Christianize Europe, and some pagan practices are not eradicated at this day. What is the reason of this difference? To answer the question we have only to inquire how it was that that barbarian continent, once the seat of so fierce and gloomy superstitions, was made to bend its neck to the faith. When it became the duty of Christianity to subjugate and tame the freeborn and ungovernable hordes, who became the masters of Europe after the overthrow of the empire, the Church was already an established and well organized institution, with sufficient moral and intellectual power, to inspire the rude men who seated themselves by its side with no slight degree of respect. In the new organization of society, to which in their altered circumstances they were obliged to submit, it became necessary that they should resort to the more intelligent among the clergy for assistance. Hence their subjection to the church followed almost immediately and as a matter of course, although it was still necessary to use all the art and authority the clergy were masters of, to tame the ferocity of the new converts, and render their conversion permanent. The missionary, who went forth into more distant parts, was likewise the representative of the most vigorous institution of the empire before its fall, and which still retained its youthful strength after that event, — an institution of sufficient power to make itself felt over a large part of the continent. He went forth therefore with singular advantages. It would be idle to suppose that he obtained his remarkable victories by a simple exposition of the truth to rude men. Too often the chief or noble was first bent to his purposes, and then by building imposing churches, by promises, threats and punishment, compelled his subjects to adopt the new faith. It is perhaps not too much to say, that Christianity owes as many of its outward triumphs over paganism in modern Europe to this as to any other cause. Something also was accomplished by the sword, far more indeed than the Christian world has ever been willing to acknowledge. The missionary carried with him like-

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wise a faith already grown awful and mysterious, and an array of splendid ceremonies well fitted to dazzle and subdue the mind of a wondering barbarian. He went out with a perfect unhesitating trust in the dogmas of his faith; he spoke with all the authority that the most positive convictions could give him, or with a hardy and unflinching hypocrisy, which often answered nearly the same purpose. He was not always too scrupulous in demanding the surrender of practices which had grown out of the old superstition. Some he tolerated; others he pressed into his service. His own religion was in some degree paganized. Nor was it to be expected that he should adopt a different course, being himself the representative of a rude age and a rude Christianity.

With the missionary of our times the case is widely different. He is the representative of a vastly more intelligent and refined age. He cannot use the sword, nor, except in a very feeble and imperfect manner, the civil power. Interpreting Christianity in the light of a highly cultivated period, if he is faithful to his trust, he can tolerate none of the immoral practices of paganism, much less make use of any. He demands more of the pagan than the ancient missionary did, because he carries with him not only a severer code of morals, but one which extends to a greater variety of the social relations, while he is himself forbidden to live in that hard ascetic mode, by which his predecessor of the olden time frequently recommended himself as a being of more than mortal sanctity. He must enforce a rigid subjection of the passions and a strict adherence to the laws of active duty, which man always bears with less patience than he submits to bodily mortification and torture. He carries with him a faith which appeals less to the imagination than that of elder times, which is less mysterious and outwardly imposing. He can no longer address the uncultivated mind with that unquestionable authority, which springs from assured convictions. Bred up in the midst of the utmost freedom of inquiry, where every opinion is questioned, doubted, or denied, he cannot have that untroubled faith which belongs to an age of tradition; at least, if on great points he thinks himself secure, he will still be subject to lurking weakness and timidity. He is no longer the minister of an undivided church, the representative of all Christendom, which has been rent into a thousand parts, but the agent of a sect; nor can he conceal from the more intelligent of those whom he

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addresses, the divisions and contentions on all points, which reign among those who profess to be the disciples of the same Christ.

While then the character of the pagan, in all its essential characteristics, remains the same as of yore, the task of the missionary has become more arduous. It is true that he has some indirect advantages which his early predecessor had not. Greater facilities for intercourse with distant nations and tribes have been opened to him; the character of the uncivilized man and the nature of his institutions are better understood; the press lends him its aid. But for obvious reasons, these circumstances are not sufficient to counterbalance the increased difficulties under which he labors. The press must be comparatively inefficient among a people, the great mass of whom have not only to be taught to read, but to reflect. "We have had no proof," says Mr. Williams, printer to the mission in China, "that the thousands of books thrown among this people have excited one mind to inquire concerning them; have induced one soul to try to find a teacher among the foreigners in China; or have been the means of converting an individual. I have seen books on board of the Junks, which were given in Bankok and Batavia; but have never had a question asked concerning their meaning; have never heard an objection started, nor a request to have a doubt solved, though the sight of the books I had brought was the occasion of their showing the books they had received." *

If then the work of the missionary has become so much more arduous, it is but reasonable that the means and instruments which he needs should be multiplied. But how can these be afforded, so long as the circle of operations is so extended that the resources of no single mission can ever be greater than are actually necessary to preserve it from death?

The policy of reducing the number of missions, we are aware, may be thought to savor too much of worldly wisdom, and quite contemptible, when compared with the magnificent project of converting the world simultaneously, as in private life men will have splendid virtues or none. But why should it appear so. The complete conversion of a single nation, capable of exerting a central influence, would be worth all the

* Report, p. 120.

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efforts of Christendom. It would be worth so much, even if its own advantage alone were concerned; but it would in its turn become the regenerator of the world.

J. Q. D.

Art. IV. — The Samaritan Pentateuch.

All which has been said, in the former part of this Essay,* to prove that the Pentateuch must have been in existence among the Ten Tribes, and their immediate successors and descendants, the Samaritans, goes as far to show that it must have been an *independent* copy of the Law, and of course sets aside any hypothesis, which would derive it from the Hebrew in later times. But to any such hypothesis there is another formidable objection, — the inveterate enmity, that always subsisted between the Jews and the Samaritans, which would keep either of them from borrowing any sacred books of the other. It commenced between the Jews and the Israelites at the period of the Revolt. There was an entire separation, it is well known, between the rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel. So far from keeping up any friendly intercourse, they were frequently at war with each other. And afterwards, when the Samaritans took the place of the Israelites, the breach was only widened. For upon them the Jews looked with proud contempt, as the descendants of Assyrian idolaters. This ancient hostility has never been forgotten on either side. As we follow the history of the two nations down to our own times, we see it constantly breaking forth. At the present day, "the enmity against the Jews is so strong," says Dr. Bowring, "that no Hebrew is admitted into the Samaritan synagogue." For some time, it seems to have been more of a political, than of a religious cast, and always the most implacable on the part of the Jews. For, after the Babylonish captivity, "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," as the Samaritans were then called, offered to unite with the Jews in rebuilding their temple; but their civil proposal was roughly rejected. The consequence

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* Christian Examiner, pp. 147 – 165 of Volume X.

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was, they were the more bitterly exasperated against the Jews; and, other causes of dissension arising, they at length built a temple on Mount Gerizim, in opposition to that at Jerusalem.

About two hundred years later, we meet again with traces of animosity on the part of the Jews; for thus writes the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus (L.25,26): "There be two manner of nations, which my heart abhorreth; and the third is no nation; they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell amongst the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem." In our Saviour's time, the word *Samaritan*, with a Jew, was but another name for a madman. When the enemies of Jesus found occasion to cavil at his beneficent miracles, it was the first outburst of impotent rage, "Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a demon?" The woman of Samaria was struck with amazement, that our Lord, who was a Jew, should ask of her, who was a Samaritan, even a cup of cold water. And when his disciples found him in conversation with her, they "marvelled that he *talked* with the woman." How irreconcilable this national hatred was, may be inferred from the following testimony of one of the Jewish Rabbis, as quoted by Lightfoot; "Ezra, Zorobabel, and Jeshua gathered all the congregation into the temple; and they blew the trumpets; and the Levites sung, and cursed the Samaritans by the secret name of God, and by the glorious writing of the tables, and by the curse of the upper and the lower house of judgment; that no Israelite eat of anything that is a Samaritan's, nor that any Samaritan be proselyted to Israel, nor have any part in the resurrection. And they sent this curse to all Israel in Babel, and added thereto curse upon curse; and the king fixed a curse everlasting to them." Now, such being the state of feeling between the two nations, is it credible that the Samaritans would ever have placed confidence enough in the Jews to receive from them any of their sacred books, and, least of all, a copy of that Law, which was to lay the foundation of their own national worship?

Besides, if the Samaritans had borrowed of the Jews their copy of the Law, they would have been just as likely, it would seem, to borrow some other of the Jewish Scriptures. Yet this they have never done. They have, it is true, defective copies of Joshua and the Judges; but these they do not regard as *sacred* books; nor does it appear that these were received through the Jews. This fact, then, cannot fairly be considered

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as any exception to the general statement. And, doubtless, it is owing chiefly to their perpetual distrust of the Jews, that they have always refused to admit the divine authority of any Book of the Old Testament, excepting the Pentateuch. They would naturally hesitate to receive a sacred book from their worst enemies, lest there might be imposed upon them some Scripture of doubtful authority. But on the supposition that, before the Separation under Jeroboam, the Mosaic Law was extant among all the Hebrews, and that alone, the other Books of Scripture not being yet written, or, at least, not yet in common circulation, we see how it has happened, that the Samaritans have never received into their canon any of the Jewish Scriptures, but the Five Books of Moses.

But there is a further consideration of quite a different kind, which greatly strengthens the probability, that the Samaritan Pentateuch has descended to us from the most ancient times. It is drawn from the acknowledged antiquity of the character, in which this book is written. There is abundant evidence from various sources, that the modern Hebrew letters are the ancient Chaldean, and the modern Samaritan the ancient Hebrew.

This appears, first, from the inscriptions on ancient Jewish coins. These coins, or *shekels*, as they are called by the Jews, have been frequently dug up about the ruins of Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, and are occasionally found there at the present day. The inscriptions are in Samaritan letters, with such slight changes only, as are gradually introduced by time into the characters of all languages. On one side of the shekels is the inscription, "*Shekel of Israel;*" on the other, "*Jerusalem the Holy.*" The precise time when they were coined cannot at this day be settled; and on this point there is a difference of opinion among the learned. Some suppose them to have been in use before the Separation, or at least under the kings of Judah; and this seems the most probable opinion; for if the Jews ever did use the Samaritan letters, they certainly had lost them after the Babylonish captivity. Others, however, hesitate to allow them so high an antiquity, and suppose them to have been struck by Simon about the year 140 B. C. They account for his using the Samaritan letters in preference to the Hebrew, by supposing it to have been a custom with the Jews, after the Captivity, to strike their coins in the character, that was formerly in use among the kings of Judah. But, be that as it may, one thing is certain: whenever

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they were coined, it must have been by Jews; and that is the only point, which bears directly upon the present argument. The Samaritans never would have inscribed upon their coins "*Jerusalem the Holy;*" they never would have acknowledged Jerusalem *as* holy; for, from the first, they were the avowed enemies of that city and its temple. And the plain inference from the whole is, that the Jews anciently used the same letters with the Samaritans.

We arrive at the same conclusion, by a comparison of the Samaritan with the remains of the ancient Greek character. That the old Hebrew was essentially the same with the Canaanitish, or Phœnician language, has been fully established by scholars. Indeed, it is so commonly acknowledged, that it is unnecessary here to adduce any evidence to the point. We also have the testimony of antiquity to the fact, that the first Greek letters were derived from the Phœnician. If, then, the Greek was derived from the Phœnician, and the Phœnician was the same with the ancient Hebrew, and the ancient Hebrew the same with the Samaritan, we should expect to find a similarity between the Samaritan and the older Greek. And such similarity we do find. It has often been observed by antiquaries in the few relics that exist of the old Greek character. Several inscriptions found amongst the ruins of Citium, in Cyprus, which reach as far back as the year 340 B. C., and the famous Sigean marble, whose inscription is fixed by Chishull at 600 B. C., both exhibit letters that approach nearly to the Samaritan.

And further, the evidence to the identity of the Samaritan with the ancient Hebrew, drawn from the remains we have of the original Hebrew and Greek, is confirmed by the testimony of the ancient Fathers, of the Jews, and of the Samaritans. "Certain it is," says Jerome, "that Ezra, the scribe, Doctor of the Law, after the taking of Jerusalem and the restoration of the temple under Zorobabel, found out other letters, which we now make use of; whereas till that time the Hebrew and the Samaritan characters were the same." He has referred to the same thing several times, and speaks of it, as if it was not then called in question. Even down to his time, he tells us, the word *Jehovah*, in some Greek manuscripts, was written in the ancient Samaritan letters. And, what is especially worthy of remark, nothing has been observed in any of the Fathers, that conflicts with this testimony of his. Before Jerome, Eusebius

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had spoken to the same point. And still earlier, Origen assures us, that in his day the golden forehead plate, worn by the Jewish high priest with the sacred Tetragrammaton, or the name of *Jehovah* upon it, was inscribed not in the then Hebrew, but in the Samaritan characters; and also, that the most accurate Hebrew manuscripts had yet preserved the same word *Jehovah* in "*the ancient letters*," meaning the Samaritan.

To this testimony of the ancient Christians may be added that of the Jews. "In the beginning," says the Babylonish Talmud, "the Law was given to Israel in the Hebrew character, and in the holy language. Afterward, in the days of Ezra, it was given to them in the Assyrian character and in the Chaldee language." Almost the same are the words of the Jerusalem Talmud. Many of the later Jewish rabbis allow, though with reluctance, that it is the letters in use among the Samaritans, not among themselves, which are the ancient Hebrew. Syncellus, who flourished about the year 800 A. D., says the Jews of his time confessed the Samaritan Pentateuch to be not only a true copy, but the most ancient one. Postell, who travelled much in the Levant, and made particular inquiries of the Jews there concerning the characters on their shekels, which are known to be the Samaritan, informs us that they prized these relics of antiquity as among the most precious of their treasures, because they were inscribed in letters once used by their fathers, and so revived the memory of ancestral times.

The Samaritans themselves say their language is the true Hebrew, and what we call Hebrew, they call Jewish. They claim theirs to have been the original language, in which the Law was given. And this is one reason why they formerly charged the Jews, especially Ezra, with being corrupters of the sacred text of Scripture.

But if the Samaritan be the ancient Hebrew, we are required to account for the manner, in which the Jews have lost it; and of this we have the most easy explanation in the Fathers and the Talmudists. They attribute the change of letters to Ezra after the Captivity, as we have seen in the citations made from Jerome and the Babylonish Talmud. During the captivity in Babylon the Jews must have mixed with the Chaldeans, and naturally fallen into the use of their language, so that, by the time they returned from exile, they had most of

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them forgotten their vernacular tongue. And in order that they might be able to read the written Law then, Ezra was obliged, it would seem, to transcribe the Jewish Scriptures in the new language, to which they had so long accustomed themselves, that is, into the Chaldean, or modern Hebrew. Moreover, the Jews, out of pure spite to the Samaritans, were disinclined to restore their ancient character. For at this very period the old national enmity was at its height; and the Jews were determined to have nothing, — not even the same language, — in common with their mortal enemies, the Cutheans, as they nicknamed the Samaritans by way of reproach upon their ancestry. In the case of the Samaritans, it is hardly necessary to observe, there were no similar causes in operation to bring about a change of letters.

After all the testimony we have adduced, there is no room left for a doubt, that the language, in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written, is the ancient Hebrew, once in use both among the Jews and Samaritans. The evidence is so conclusive, that the old theory about the modern letters of the Jews being the same with the original Hebrew is now almost universally abandoned.

And now we come to the bearing of this important fact in regard to the antiquity of the Samaritan letters and the recent origin of the Modern Hebrew, upon the main question, as to the antiquity of the Samaritan text. This text of the Pentateuch is written, it appears, in the old Israelitish language, — the original language of the Hebrews, — in essentially the same character, in which the Law of Moses was first committed to writing. It bears on its very front, then, the stamp of its high antiquity. Had the question, — which of the two copies of the Law, now in our hands, is the most ancient, — never before been raised, the *prima facie* evidence, it must be admitted, would be altogether in favor of the Samaritan. But the *prima facie* evidence is not all. It follows as a necessary inference from the acknowledged antiquity of the Samaritan letters, that the Samaritan text must have been in existence before the Babylonish exile. For, after the Israelites had been carried into captivity, the first settlers in Samaria, who took their place, came from Assyria, where they spoke the Chaldee; and this language they would, in all probability, have continued to use down to the time of the Captivity and long after, unless in the mean time there had existed some strong necessity for their learn-

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ing a new language. Had they received their copy of the Law through the Israelites at the time we have all along supposed, we see how they happened to learn the Israelitish language. On this supposition, we can easily explain why it is, that their Pentateuch is written in the Israelitish, instead of the Chaldean characters. But on the hypothesis, that it was derived from the Jewish after the captivity in Babylon, would they not have been obliged to copy it in the Chaldean letters, — the letters, in which it was then written among the Jews, — the only letters, indeed, with which, on this hypothesis, they could have been familiar themselves? Yet, in point of fact, it is found written not in these, but in the ancient Israelitish letters. Here, then, is a problem to be solved; and the only satisfactory solution is, that the Samaritan text never was derived from the Jewish, after the change of letters took place among the Jews, but was in the hands of the Samaritans some time before the Captivity. At whatever time before they may have received it, at that time they would have been obliged to learn the Israelitish language, in which the Law was then written.

Or, admitting the possibility of their having learnt the language originally, for some other purpose than that of preparing themselves to read the written Law, it is plain they must soon have lost it again, unless they had some writing in their hands to keep them familiar with its characters. In ancient times, the only way of preserving the characters of any language, was by transmission from age to age through the written volume. And that the Samaritans would not long have preserved theirs without the old Hebrew alphabet in writing, is confirmed by what we know of their history. For, even with the written alphabet in their hands, it was soon lost by the mass of the people, as appears from the fact, that, long before the Christian era, they were obliged to have their Pentateuch translated for popular use into the vulgar Samaritan dialect. Now, their copy of the Law is the only writing extant, which contains their ancient letters; hence its continued existence amongst them, from some period antecedent to the Babylonish captivity, is necessary to account for their preservation of the old Hebrew alphabet.

The argument drawn from the acknowledged antiquity of the Samaritan characters proves, we have said, that the Samaritan Pentateuch must date as far back as some time before the Babylonish captivity, that is to say, as far back at least as the

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year 600 B. C. Now this date comes within about a century of the period when the king of Assyria sent an Israelitish priest to instruct the Samaritans in the Mosaic worship. And does not this circumstance alone greatly strengthen the probability, that they actually received their copy of the Law, as we have supposed, through that captive priest of Israel?

To complete this part of our discussion, we next proceed to examine, as briefly as possible, the principal arguments commonly adduced in favor of the more recent origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, arguments confidently urged by critics of high consideration. Those upon which Prideaux lays the chief stress are the two following. We give them in his own words.

"That it (the Samaritan text) was copied from that of Ezra, (that is, the one supposed to have been transcribed by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity,) is manifest," he says, "from two reasons. For, first, it hath all the interpolations that Ezra's copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged; and therefore, had it been ancienter than Ezra's copy, it must have been without them. Secondly, there are a great many variations in the Samaritan copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the Hebrew alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the Samaritan character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the Samaritan from the Hebrew, and not in transcribing the Hebrew from the Samaritan."

In Prideaux's statement of the first of these arguments, there is a manifest *non sequitur*. How does it appear that Ezra was the author of the interpolations referred to, because it is "generally acknowledged" that he was? This point there is no evidence whatever to prove; and many things, we know, are "generally acknowledged," which have no foundation in truth; so that the whole argument falls to the ground. It is true, indeed, and *in our enlightened age* is commonly admitted, that Moses himself could not have written the alleged additions to the original text of the Pentateuch, such, for instance, as the account of his own death and burial. It is true also, that tradition has attributed these additions to Ezra; but then mere tradition cannot be depended upon, and, as we have said, there is no evidence whatever to prove the truth of the tradition. If it could be proved that they were made by

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Ezra on his return from the Babylonish exile, then indeed it might be inferred, with some probability, that the Samaritan text must have been derived from the Jewish since Ezra's time. But who the author of these acknowledged additions was, cannot be settled at this day. They have been ascribed by different scholars to different hands. The hypothesis, which seems to us the most probable, is, that they were written at different times by Jewish transcribers in the margins of their manuscripts, to supply supposed defects in the Mosaic narrative, and thus came at last to be incorporated into the original text itself. Now, between the death of Moses and the period of the Revolt; — the period to which we have traced back the Samaritan text, — there was an interval of about five centuries. In this long interval, there was surely time enough for the additions to have been made; and, judging from the character of most of them, it is in itself more likely that they were made near the time of Moses, than long after. If they belonged to the text any time before the period of the Revolt, then the fact of their being found in the Samaritan copy proves nothing, as to its later derivation from the Jewish. As the argument we have been considering is drawn from certain correspondencies between the Jewish and Samaritan texts, it should be remembered, in this connexion, that there are also remarkable differences between the two; and how are these to be accounted for on the supposition that one was copied from the other?

As to the other argument of Prideaux's in favor of the more recent origin of the Samaritan copy, that, namely, drawn from the nature of many of its various readings, it cannot be fully understood without some degree of familiarity with the Hebrew and Samaritan alphabets. It can hardly be made intelligible, therefore, to the general reader, and we pass it by.

Besides Prideaux's two arguments against the Israelitish origin of the Samaritan text, there are two others urged by the famous deistical writer, Collins, which deserve to be considered in this connexion.

One of these is the argument drawn from the supposed omission, in Origen's *Hexapla*, of the Samaritan text. The ancient Fathers, it is said, must have been better acquainted with the character of this text than we of the present day can be, and certainly, if they had deemed it an independent authority, or of any great value, it would have been introduced by Origen into that famous work of his. And it must be con-

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fessed, this does seem likely at first glance. Yet we can think of several reasons why it was not introduced. Origen may never have seen the Samaritan Pentateuch. From the fact that the Samaritan manuscripts, which the Fathers used, were so soon lost to the Christian world, it may be inferred that, in Origen's time, very few were in circulation among Christians; so few, that it was difficult for him to find a copy. Or if he had seen it, we may suppose with Huetius, that he was unacquainted with the character in which it was written. Again, we may suppose with Kennicott and others, that Origen compiled his *Hexapla* chiefly for the purpose of letting the Christians of his time know what was in the Hebrew text, as then received among the Jews; and this might have been another reason why he omitted the Samaritan text. Or again, he might have omitted it because of existing prejudices against the Samaritans, — they being then regarded both by Jews and Christians as a sect of heretics, if not of idolaters. So much for the argument, supposing it to be founded in fact. But, after all, it is by no means certain that Origen did neglect to insert the Samaritan text in his Hexapla, (or its Greek Version, supposing him to have used that instead of the original.) Vossius and Montfaucon agree in the opinion, that the *Hexapla* had marginal notes, which actually contained the variations of the Samaritan text from the Jewish. This, it is true, cannot be proved, since but a few fragments of Origen's great work are now extant. On this point, then, we can only say in conclusion, that it is obviously unsafe to build up an argument of any kind on the supposed contents of a work, of which at the present day we know so little. That the Samaritan text was in ancient times highly esteemed by the Fathers, who were most eminent for learning, is sufficiently apparent from the manner in which they speak of it, as we have before had occasion to observe.

The other argument of Collins, to which we have alluded, is that drawn from the supposed fact of the Samaritans having been idolaters since the Babylonish captivity. This, argues Collins, is proved by the testimony of Josephus; for he tells us that, about the year 168 B. C., the Samaritans petitioned Antiochus Epiphanes to have their temple dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter; that it was accordingly dedicated to him under the name of Jupiter Xenios, or Jupiter, the Protector of strangers; and that the people then readily conformed to the

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rites of Grecian idolatry. But this testimony of the Jewish historian, if true to the letter, would prove nothing in regard to the non-existence of the Mosaic law amongst the Samaritans. It would only show at most how prone they were, in common with the Jews, to yield at times to the seductive influences of the neighboring idolatries, with which they were constantly coming into contact. From the very testimony adduced, it appears they already had a temple sacred to Jehovah; and their whole history, both before and after the period, to which this testimony relates, proves that, in general, they kept up the Mosaic worship, and therefore must have had the Law in their hands. In the time of our Saviour, there is direct evidence, from the New Testament history, that they were then worshippers of the true God, and looked for the coming of a Messiah. From all which it appears, that they were in possession of their Law immediately before and immediately after the period when they are said to have dedicated their temple to Jupiter.

The question, how far, in the course of their history, the Samaritans were idolaters, is one of great importance on account of its bearing upon the main question at issue, — the question how long they have been in the possession of their Pentateuch. In this connexion, therefore, we will dwell upon it a moment longer.

For the sake of convenience, we may divide the Samaritan history, together with the Israelitish, into four distinct periods. The first, in order, is that reaching from the time of the Separation to the period of the Israelites being carried into captivity; the second, from the time of the captivity of the Israelites, (which, strictly speaking, is the commencement of the Samaritan history,) till the return of the Jews from the Babylonish exile; the third, from the Babylonish captivity to the Christian era; and the fourth, from the Christian era to the present time. As to the first of these periods, nothing more can be proved, in regard to the idolatry of the Ten Tribes, as we have shown before, than that part of the people did at times fall off from the worship of Jehovah. During the second period, all that we hear of idolatry among the Samaritans is, that, for a short time after the king of Assyria sent an Israelitish priest to teach them the Mosaic Law, they had a mixed worship, "fearing the Lord, and serving their graven images" together, if we may believe the Jews. And this sort of mixed worship is no more than

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what might have been expected of a people, descended in part from idolatrous ancestors, and just transplanted from an idolatrous soil. How long it continued, we have no evidence to show; certainly, if they had the Law of Moses in their hands all the time, not longer than forty or fifty years at most. Within the third interval, we hear nothing of their idolatry, excepting what Josephus tells us about their temple on Mount Gerizim being dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, in the year 168 B. C. As to the fourth and last period, there is no testimony whatever, worthy of credit, in regard to their idolatry, — nothing, that is, but sundry floating rumors and silly stories handed down among Jews and Christians.

Now, this charge of idolatry against the Samaritans, even as it appears in history, may justly be suspected; for it comes, be it remembered, only through the Jews, always their inveterate enemies. Within the last period, — the interval extending from the Christian era to the present day, — there is no end to the Jewish calumnies, which have been circulated among Jews and Christians, to bring discredit upon the Samaritans. They have been accused at different times by the Jewish Rabbis, and such credulous Fathers as Epiphanius, of worshipping images concealed beneath Mount Gerizim; of turning their faces towards that mountain, whenever they prayed; of worshipping a dove, and circumcising in the name of a dove; of denying the reality of a resurrection; of worshipping a calf, and an idol named *Asima;* and of substituting *Asima* for *Elohim* in the first chapter of Genesis, so that it read, in their Pentateuch, "In the beginning *Asima* created the heavens and the earth." It is hardly necessary to add, that these idle tales about the Samaritans are now known and acknowledged to be without foundation in fact. May it not then fairly be inferred, that, in the several periods of their history before the Christian era, similar stories were forged by the Jews out of national spite? This inference we cannot but think altogether probable; and it is confirmed by the testimony of the Samaritans themselves, to which some weight is certainly due. The stories about their idolatry, they say, originated in Jewish malice; and the correctness of the Jewish history, so far as it concerns their own nation, they stoutly deny.

In view of the whole Samaritan history, then, after making all reasonable allowance for Jewish calumnies, we are brought to the following conclusion; that among the Samaritans and

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their Israelitish ancestors, as well as among the Jews, some of the people did, without doubt, at various times, yield to idolatrous practices; precisely to what extent, however, we have no means of ascertaining. This is all, we think, that can safely be said in regard to their idolatry. And in the case of the Samaritans, no more than in that of the Jews, is it inconsistent with the fact, that, as a nation, they have from the first preserved among themselves the Mosaic worship, and always had in their hands a copy of the Law, upon which that worship was founded.

The sum of the whole argument in favor of the Israelitish origin of their Pentateuch is this: — The ancient Samaritans must have had in their hands, from the first, a copy of the Mosaic Law, or they never could have kept up the Mosaic worship, as they did, through all the vicissitudes of their history. And it must have been an independent copy, received through the Israelites of old. They would not have received it from the Jews in later times, because the Jews were their hereditary and sworn enemies; neither would they have borrowed of them one sacred book without borrowing others. It could not have been derived from the Jewish since the Babylonish captivity, because, if it had been, it would have been written in the same character, in the Chaldean. But the copy which has come down to the modern Samaritans is written in the original Hebrew, in a character proved to have been in use both among the Jews and the Israelites before the Captivity. Are we not then authorized to infer, that this modern copy is a transcript of that ancient one? For this is the whole problem to be solved. In view of all the evidence, we cannot but feel as certain that this copy of the Law has descended to us from the Ten Tribes of Israel, as we do of the reality of almost any historical fact, which relates to an age so remote from the present.

And now, if the Pentateuch of the Samaritans has been traced back to its true origin, it must be felt to have the highest claims upon our veneration. It is written, without doubt, in the oldest of languages, of which any remains are extant. To the mere scholar and antiquary, then, it opens a field of boundless interest, simply as a curious relic of the past. It carries him nearly three thousand years back into the ages that are gone, to the very infancy of his race, and he finds himself in company with Homer and Hesiod, of classic fame. Yes, it can boast an

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antiquity higher than any existing monuments of Grecian or Roman literature. But to the eye of the Christian, who loves to linger among the primitive dispensations of Divine Wisdom, and study the ancient records, which speak of the faith and piety that so many ages ago found a home among God's chosen people, — to his eye it is a holy as well as a curious and a venerable relic. Its pages call up associations of the most sacred and enduring interest. For there he may read the characters, engraved on the tables of stone, "written with the finger of God" on Mount Sinai, — the characters of the language, in which Moses and the Patriarchs spoke, and the bards of Israel sung.

There is another point of view, under which this copy of the Pentateuch must appear highly valuable and interesting to one, who feels that between Judaism and Christianity there is a connexion of essential importance. The fact of its antiquity, we mean, has a direct bearing upon the question of the authenticity of the Books of Moses. The Pentateuch, let it be remembered, has always been common to the Jews and Samaritans, while the other books of the Old Testament have been peculiar to the Jews. This remarkable agreement of two hostile nations on a single point, while on all others they have been perpetually at variance, presents, it must be confessed, a most striking and weighty argument in proof of the authenticity of the Pentateuch. There is no evidence so strong as this to support the claims of the other Scriptures in the Jewish canon; because, though the Jews have always acknowledged, the Samaritans have always denied their authenticity. In the case of the Five Books of Moses, on the other hand, we have the testimony of both the Samaritans and the Jews. Through the long period of almost three thousand years, both nations have held these books in reverence, as the only basis of their worship, their faith, and their hopes. With both, there has ever been a fixed national persuasion of the divine mission of the Hebrew lawgiver, — a persuasion, to which, notwithstanding their mutual hatred, both have faithfully adhered through all the vicissitudes of time. The important bearing, which the antiquity of the Samaritan copy has upon the question of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, has been observed before; and this was obviously the reason why the infidel, Collins, labored so hard to disprove its antiquity. So far, then, as we have had cause to believe that Moses was

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an inspired lawgiver, so far shall we rejoice in the preservation of these old Samaritan records of patriarchal times. And in their transmission into the hands of Christians, just as the people, to whom they had been entrusted for ages, were about to pass away from the earth forever, who cannot trace the finger of an overruling Providence?

The Samaritan Pentateuch, we have seen, is a treasure of inestimable value, both because it is the only work which has preserved in writing the characters of the old Hebrew alphabet, and because its antiquity, if proved, adds great weight to the argument for the authenticity of the Books of Moses. It is highly valuable, too, in still another point of view, — we mean, as a source of critical emendation in correcting the received text of the Pentateuch. Indeed, its chief practical value must depend upon its being a faithful transcript of the Mosaic Law. We are aware, that, in regard to the present state, the proper authority, and the just value of the Samaritan text, there is now, as there always has been, a wide difference of opinion among scholars of acknowledged eminence, — as wide a difference, perhaps, as in regard to its antiquity. In general, those critics, who hold to its derivation from the Jewish, attach little importance to it, treating it much as they would any Hebrew manuscript, very ancient and very corrupt; while they, on the other hand, who hold to its Israelitish origin, generally consider it of higher authority than the Jewish. There are some, however, who acknowledge its high antiquity, and yet believe it to have been so much corrupted in the lapse of time, that, in its present state, no critical reliance whatever can be placed upon it.

How then is it to be regarded by a conscientious and impartial critic, whose only object is to come as near as possible at the genuine words of Moses? This is a question which deserves our serious consideration.

If the Samaritan text be of Israelitish origin, as we believe it has been proved to be, then it must be an independent copy of the same text with the Jewish, and can boast an antiquity as high. For it has come down to us from the Ten Tribes of Israel, just as the Jewish, from which all our modern Hebrew manuscripts are derived, has come down from the Two Tribes. It is to be viewed, then, in a very different light from an ancient version, or an ancient manuscript copy of the Jewish text. Other things being equal, it would have just the same authority as the Jewish, — the same authority, that is to

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say, as all the modern Hebrew manuscripts put together. If we could be sure that the two texts, the Jewish and the Samaritan, had been preserved with equal care, we should only have to compare one copy of the original text with another copy of the same, allowing to each an equal authority. But one is doubtless more corrupt than the other. The point, to be settled then as nearly as possible, is, which of the two has been preserved in the purest state? And there are strong reasons for believing that this point should be decided in favor of the Samaritan. The chief of these deserve to be noticed.

1. The Samaritan text has never been exposed to those alterations, which might have crept into the Jewish after the Babylonish captivity, at the time when the change of letters took place among the Jews. During the Captivity, also, it is generally acknowledged that some corruptions were introduced into the Jewish; if so, they would not affect the Samaritan.

2. Very frequently, — in more than a thousand instances, where it differs from the Jewish, — it is confirmed by the ancient Septuagint Version.

3. It has been less exposed to corruption through the errors of transcribers, for it has been transcribed less frequently than the Jewish. No occasion has existed for its so frequent transcription. The Jews, since the Christian era at least, have been scattered in multitudes all over the world, while, compared with them, the Samaritans have been few in number and confined to a few places. Neither, like the Jewish, has it been circulated among Christians to be copied by them. At this day there are less than twenty manuscript copies in their hands; and, as late as the middle of the last century, Kennicott thinks there were not more than ten Christian scholars able to read the Samaritan character. It has not been exposed then to errors of transcription from being circulated among Christians.

4. The Samaritans have never been given to allegorizing, like the Jews. They reject all traditions, and have always been more rigidly attached to the letter of the Law than the Jews. Under this point of view the Samaritan text excels the Jewish, because, as Simon says, many things, which superstition has foisted into the one, are wanting in the other.

5. The citations made from the Pentateuch in the New Testament, in Josephus, and in the Apostolical Fathers, almost always agree with the Samaritan, though they often differ from the Jewish.

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6. The internal evidence is generally in favor of the Samaritan where it differs from the Jewish. It is often confirmed by the plain sense of the context, by the genuine construction of the Hebrew language, and by the manifest truth of the history. Genders are frequently confounded in the Jewish, but not so in the Samaritan. Thus the Jewish often has the feminine pronoun *She*, where the sense requires the masculine *He*; the Samaritan, never. In the Jewish we always find *Benjamin* with a Chaldee termination, a word which signifies *Son of the right hand*. If this be the true reading, perhaps Benjamin was so called, because he was his father's right-hand man. But, in the Samaritan, it is always written *Benjamim* with the Hebrew termination, signifying the *Son of days* or *of old age*, as Benjamin is elsewhere called, — a name which answers better to the youngest of Jacob's sons, he being born to him in his old age. We cannot but think the probabilities are greatly in favor of this reading. *Benjamim*, it is true, is not quite so euphonious as *Benjamin*; but all Benjamins, we think, who are scrupulous about being called by the exact Bible name, should give this question a serious consideration, and soberly weigh the authorities on both sides.

7. In later times the Samaritans have been brought, less than the Jews, into collision with Christian communities. Hence they have not been under the same strong temptations to corrupt their copies out of opposition to Christians. And whatever corruptions from this cause may have been introduced into the Jewish text, would not be likely to affect the Samaritan.

8. The older the manuscripts of the Jewish text are, the more closely are they found to agree with the Samaritan.

Such are the principal considerations, which lead to the inference, that the Samaritan text has been preserved in a purer state than the Jewish. To some of these, especially to the first four, great weight is certainly due; to some, little; but, taken all together, they present a strong argument, we think, in favor of the Samaritan. Now there are two facts of history, which directly prove that, for the last two thousand years at least, this text has been transcribed with extraordinary care and accuracy. One of the facts, to which we allude, is the exact correspondence of our present Samaritan manuscripts with all the citations of the Fathers; and the other, the almost literal agreement of the old Samaritan version with the Samaritan

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text. This version is generally acknowledged to be the oldest translation we have of the Pentateuch into any language, and on all hands allowed to date as far back as the Christian era. And it is so literal as to agree almost word for word with the original Samaritan text, so that hardly any errors can have crept into this text, since that version was made. These two facts prove conclusively that, ever since the Christian era, the Samaritans have transcribed their Pentateuch with surprising accuracy. But we know of no reason why it should have been preserved in a purer state since the time of Christ, than before.

So far then from there having been any peculiar causes of corruption operating to impair its value, there is good reason to believe that it has come down to us in a state of remarkable integrity, and is, in the main, a true and faithful copy of the original text. Let it not, however, be supposed that we have it in a condition of *perfect* integrity. Like the Jewish, it must have passed through considerable changes in the course of transcription for more than three thousand years. Corruptions from this source it doubtless has, as well as the Jewish. Neither would it be strange, if, in the lapse of so many ages, some few intentional corruptions had crept into the one as well as into the other. If any such there be, they were full as likely to be introduced by the Jews, as by the Samaritans. It is unreasonable at this day to expect as pure a text of the Five Books of Moses, as of the Four Gospels, written as these were so much later, and transmitted to us through so many different channels. All we would say, then, in regard to the integrity of the Samaritan copy, is, that, in general, it may safely be depended upon, as a means of correcting the received text of the Pentateuch, and that, in case of a disputed reading, the preference should always be given to the Samaritan, unless there is some reason for supposing the text to have been corrupted in that particular instance.

Nine tenths, at least, of the variations between the Jewish and Samaritan texts are so trifling, as not to affect the sense at all. But there are some very considerable differences, which claim a passing notice.

There is quite a number of passages, where the Samaritan is more full than the Jewish; where difficulties are cleared up, and the sense is illustrated. These additions may be viewed in either of two lights, — either as real omissions in the Jewish

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text, or as glosses introduced into the Samaritan by scribes. But, if they improve the sense, or are confirmed by the known truth of facts, it is fair to presume that they did belong to the original text, and have been omitted in the Jewish only through the negligence of copyists. About thirty passages of considerable length, which occur but once in the Jewish, are repeated in the Samaritan. Of these repetitions, some of the most remarkable occur in the Book of Exodus. Here we have the speeches, which were occasioned by the various messages from God to Pharaoh, expressed twice; once, as given in charge by God to Moses, and again, as delivered by Moses to Pharaoh,—after the manner of Homer's Iliad, where we find the principal messages recorded twice. In the Jewish, the same speeches occur but once, and that not in any regular order. Sometimes we have a message from God to Moses, without reading that Moses delivered it; and sometimes one from Moses to Pharaoh, without reading that God had commanded it. And what seems strange, we read the speeches of God to Moses, denouncing certain judgments upon Pharaoh in case of his disobedience, and immediately after, of the infliction of those judgments, without being told that the speeches were ever delivered by Moses. In regard to all repetitions of this nature, the presumption is strong, that they really made a part of the original text, since, in general, they are not only required by the connexion, and, if not expressed, must be understood, but, — as Whiston truly says, — are such as "the old plain method in the Bible elsewhere, and in Homer, one of the ancientest heathen authors now extant, gives us reason to expect." We may easily suppose them to have been omitted by Jewish scribes for brevity's sake, and to save themselves the trouble of what was deemed unnecessary transcription.

There are some very material discrepancies between the Jewish and the Samaritan Chronology. From the Creation to the Flood, the Samaritan computes a hundred years less than the Jewish, — making the interval fifteen hundred and fifty-six years, while the Jewish makes it sixteen hundred and fifty-six. On the other hand, in the ten successive generations immediately after the Flood, the Samaritan computes six hundred and fifty years more than the Jewish, — the one making the interval between the Flood and the birth of Abraham nine hundred and forty-two years, and the other, only two hundred and ninety two. And in regard to the time, which elapsed

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between the birth of Abraham and the death of Moses, there are several other important differences between the Jewish and Samaritan texts. The Samaritan Chronology differs also from that of the Septuagint, though with this it agrees better than with the Jewish. Which is the true Chronology, or rather, which is nearest the truth, has been a question much discussed; but it is one, which probably will never be decided. In this particular, some corruptions doubtless have crept into the Samaritan, as well as into the Jewish and the Septuagint.

If the view we have presented of the origin of the Samaritan copy be the true one, then, from what has been seen of its character, it must appear highly valuable as a source of correcting the received text. Whenever a new Version of the Pentateuch is attempted, we cannot but think great weight ought to be allowed to this Samaritan text; for, when our common Version of the Scriptures was made, it had never been seen by English scholars. In general, we believe it may be relied upon; though, in some places, it is allowed on all hands to be corrupt, and needs to be amended from the Jewish. The more carefully and impartially the two copies are collated, the more nearly may we expect to arrive at the genuine words of Moses. Most of the differences may easily be accounted for by the usual sources of various readings, — the negligence of copyists, the confounding of similar letters, the omission of single words, the transposition of words and letters, the introduction of glosses into the text, &c. With two or three exceptions, the variations are all of an unimportant character. The most material are those, which relate to the sacred Chronology, and to the reading of the celebrated text in Deut. xxvii. 4. Still, in the main, we repeat, the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs agree together. And when we consider how entirely independent of each other they have always been kept, — how many thousand times they must have been transcribed, — from what remote ages they have descended, — through what various and eventful scenes they have passed, — the wonder is, that they should have been preserved in a state so pure, and now differ so little. In view of the whole, we may well exclaim in the words of Kennicott; "How adorable is that Wisdom, which could contrive to impress the seal of credibility so strongly upon the Pentateuch; so firmly to establish its authenticity upon the joint testimony of two such nations, — two nations, who, for about two thousand years, have exercised the most uniform resent-

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ments, scarce agreeing in any one observance, but worshiping the true God, and reverencing this same Pentateuch of Moses."

T. W.

NOTE. — In addition to the authorities already referred to, in a note to a previous article on this subject, see also Reland's Dissertatio de Samaritanis; Du Pin's History of the Canon of Scripture, Book I., Ch. 4 and 5; Cellarius's Collectanea Historiæ Samaritanæ; and Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Universelle, Tom. ix., pp. 373-385; Tom. xii., pp. 532-546; Tom. xiv., pp. 102-126.

ART V. — *Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, for the Adjustment of International Disputes, and for the Promotion of Universal Peace without Resort to Arms. Together with a Sixth Essay, comprising the Substance of the Rejected Essays.* Boston: Whipple & Damrell, for the American Peace Society. 1840. 8vo. pp. 706.

THE phrase *Congress of Nations* has become familiar to almost every ear; but we apprehend that comparatively few attach to it any definite idea. It is regarded by many as designating a Utopian vision of certain weak and warm philanthropists, not more likely to realize itself than any one of the thousand whims of our *one idea* reformers. Others, who have given the subject a cursory reflection, have understood by a Congress of Nations a permanent international court, clothed with judicial functions, and authorized to enforce its decisions, when resisted, by the arms of the non-recusant powers represented in the tribunal. This view has been made too prominent by many of the friends of peace, and has drawn upon their measures the shafts both of sound argument and of searching ridicule. But it is by no means the true view. Those who have bestowed the most attention upon the subject are by no means sanguine as to the feasibility of a permanent tribunal for the adjudication of controversies between nations; nor do they deem such an institution essential to the establishment of universal peace. We propose in the present article to set forth

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the legitimate purposes, for which we desire and expect, ere long, to see convened a Congress composed of representatives from the principal civilized nations of Europe and America.

International law may be compared to the *common law* of Great Britain and of this country. It is a *lex non scripta*, — a law of precedent and authority. It is perpetually in the process of creation. It has its foundation in the extension to communities of those principles of natural justice and good faith, which govern the intercourse of man with man. It grows with the growth of national wealth, refinement, and power, and is modified by every new mode of diplomatic or commercial intercourse. It incorporates into its substance conventional forms and usages; established courtesies between courts and their representatives; mutual concessions ratified by venerable precedent. It is derived in a great measure from stipulations and treaties. Its sources and authorities are the universal human heart, all human history, and the archives of all nations upon earth. It is vast and comprehensive, yet intangible. All have their ideas with regard to it, but know not how to verify them. The phrase *law of nations* is on every one's lips, with regard to a wide diversity of subjects; but who shall say what that law is on any one point?

We can trace the law of nations back to the very infancy of society. Even among hordes of savages in the earliest times the person of a herald was held sacred; there were certain conventional modes of declaring and conducting war, from which it was unlawful to vary; and a covenant of amity between two tribes, when ratified by oath or sacrifice, was deemed indissolubly binding, even though obtained by the fraud of one of the parties, as was the case with the covenant between the children of Israel and the Gibeonites, mentioned in the book of Joshua. From these rude beginnings has this common law of nations been extending its sway, and multiplying its ramifications, with every generation. On many subjects of prime moment, it may be regarded as fixed, or rather as having reached a stage of progress, from which it will never recede. This is the case, no doubt, with the usages of war among civilized nations. In those respects, in which common consent has mitigated the barbarities of war, there is but little reason to dread a retrograde movement, though there are still many points, in which humanity has larger demands to make of Christian nations, in conducting hostilities with each other, and especially with savages.

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There are other subjects, of equal importance, on which the law of nations is still undetermined, though manifestly capable of being definitely settled. This is the case with the rights of neutrals in war, the right of search upon the high seas, the right of blockade, the articles to be deemed contraband of war, the appropriation of private property by belligerents, and the like. These subjects have been long open, and have been often and thoroughly discussed, but are embarrassed by an array of conflicting opinions and precedents. And why? Because they are never discussed dispassionately; but are taken up at the close of a war, or in the course of a negotiation instituted for some definite purpose, are argued on either side, as the selfish ends of the respective parties may dictate, and are finally decided as may best subserve the interests of the most influential or the recently victorious party. Could any of these subjects be submitted to the deliberations of two or more nations through their diplomatic agents, at a time of general peace, and when there was not the pressure of immediate interest on either party, there would be nothing to prevent the establishment of settled rules or principles, to which, in case of any future collision, the parties would feel themselves bound to adhere.

There is yet another class of subjects, on which the general mind of Christendom has made large advances; but on which nations still retain the usages of more barbarous times, simply because there is no moment, when they naturally come up for discussion between different governments. The subject of privateering is a case in point. The voice of Christendom is well nigh unanimous in condemning this form of piracy. But from the nature of things, letters of marque can only be issued, when amicable negotiations are suspended, and therefore cannot be the subject of diplomatic correspondence; and at the close of a war, the belligerents are too weary of a state of hostility to moot the question, — How shall we do when we go to war again? Moreover, in an interval of peace, there are so many private and commercial interests that demand negotiation, that there is hardly room left, (even if relations of amity suffered the entertaining of such questions,) to determine preliminaries for future wars. Therefore, in every new war, the parties, from the mere power of custom, resume this antiquated detestable mode of warfare upon unprotected merchants and seamen.

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Here then are several classes of subjects, on which opportunity alone is wanting for the law of nations to be settled in the opinion and practice of all coming times. It is evident that an unwritten law of precedent and authority may become so complex and so difficult to be traced to its true sources, as to demand codification; and also that it may become determinate or easily determinable on so many points, as to render its codification highly advantageous. This stage, it is believed by many eminent jurists, has been reached by the *common law* (so called) of Great Britain and the United States; and, if we mistake not, commissioners are now engaged, under authority from the legislature of Massachusetts, in codifying the common law. We cannot regard it as a fortuitous coincidence, but as resulting from similar trains of reasoning, that the legislature of this same state has made itself the first legislative body in the world to recommend "the institution of a Congress of Nations for the purpose of framing a code of international law." When we talk of codifying the law of nations, we mean not that by such a procedure every future difficulty would be forestalled, or that the law would cease to grow, and new precedents still to be established. To codify such a law is to write its history, to plant its present landmarks, and thus to facilitate its improvement. It is a work, which posterity would demand to have wrought anew, and perhaps at no great distance of time; for the relations of governments and nations are continually changing, inasmuch as there is hardly any new invention, or discovery, or direction of enterprise, that does not connect itself in some way with international diplomacy. The agency of steam, whose mighty energies are just developing themselves, will probably of itself modify the law of nations to a greater degree than all the causes, that have affected it since the Reformation. But yet, though new points will be continually arising, this consideration only supplies a still stronger motive for settling what now admits of being settled, and establishing, so far as may be practicable, leading principles, to which future cases may be referred.

Such a code of international law can be created only by the sovereign powers, that would be amenable to its provisions. But we can easily conceive of a convention of the accredited representatives of the leading powers of Christendom engaged in this work. As has been already implied, in a time of general peace, such an undertaking would meet with but few

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obstacles from the selfishness of individual governments; for it is a state of war alone that renders very many of these questions of international law practically important, and it would be impossible for any nation to foresee with whom or under what circumstances her future wars might be, and thus to shape her decisions as they might affect her own interests. The Congress of Nations, for the institution of which the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic are petitioning the good offices of their respective governments, is a Congress for this purpose, of settling definitely all those matters of international right, law, and usage, in which the powers of Christendom are willing to come to a common understanding. Such a Congress would strike at the root of war; for most wars grow out of opposing constructions of points of international law, and negotiations for the restoration of peace are protracted or broken off by like cause.

Is it said, that the decisions of such a Congress would be set aside at pleasure by the caprice or selfishness of governments. We think not, for these reasons. In the first place, governments have already shown a deference for the authority of commentators upon international law. Grotius and Vattel have been quoted in diplomatic correspondence as freely and as deferentially, as Coke and Blackstone are wont to be in a court of justice. Probably no individual for the last thousand years has done half the service to the cause of peace, which Grotius has rendered by shedding the light of his clear and accurate mind on subjects previously big with the elements of strife.

Yet again, public opinion would re-enact and enforce the decisions of such a Congress as we propose. Public opinion is now the empress of the world. Unless kings bow to her, their thrones are shivered at her frown. And when we speak of public opinion, it is not of the common sentiment of this or that nation, but of all Christendom. For bound as they are by ever new and stronger ties of commerce, literature, faith, and philanthropy, and brought close to one another's doors by the fire-wings of modern navigation, the nations of Europe and America are continually interacting upon each other's minds, moulding one another's tones of thought and feeling, so that the time is not far distant, when one pulse shall beat throughout the civilized world, and the voice of public opinion shall be the cry of nations. Let governments once settle the leading points of international law, let our proposed Congress only do

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its work, and we are content to trust for the permanence of the work to the progress of sound principles, kind feelings, and pacific relations among the subjects of Christian governments. The code once completed will be laid up in the hearts of the people, as in a holy ark of the covenant, — an ark, which none can violate, without expiating the sacrilege by utter ruin.

Besides such provisions as would tend to cut off occasions for dissension, we should expect from a Congress of Nations a uniform system of arbitration for the settlement of international controversies. We do not expect or desire a high court of nations to sit in judgment on the delinquencies of sovereign states, and to cite monarchs like culprits to its bar. It is useless to say to what usurpations a court of this kind would lead; for all strife and wrong will have ceased, when nations and kings are sufficiently imbued with the spirit of Christian meekness to invest such a tribunal with authority over themselves. Nor do we want any better mode of adjudication, than arbitration may furnish. It has the advantage of bringing a fresh and unbiassed mind to every new case, while judicial decisions in national, as in private affairs, would be marked by professional biasses, and would receive a uniform coloring from the minds of those who composed the tribunal. All that is needed is, that the rights and duties of umpires and of the parties to an arbitration be determined and guarantied by general treaty.

By general treaty, we say; for it is in this light that we would prefer presenting the measure under consideration; and we thus bring it into analogy with the accustomed proceedings of governments. There have often been negotiated treaties between three or more states; and such treaties have always been negotiated by a Congress of Nations, that is, by a convention of the diplomatic representatives of the high contracting parties. Moreover, points of international law are among the most usual subjects of international treaty. All that we desire is a treaty, which shall have as many parties as there are leading powers in Christendom, which shall be matured with the utmost deliberation and under circumstances of the greatest disinterestedness possible, and shall embrace all the principal points of international law capable of easy determination. The chief and most happy distinction of the plan we propose is, that it is designed to prevent war, instead of healing its disorders. There have been more than thirty Congresses of

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Nations convened in Europe within the last two centuries; but they have always convened to disentangle the embroiled affairs connected with a complex war. We propose as an antidote what has so often been successfully resorted to as a remedy.

Nor are we of the United States entitled to the merit of originality in devising this so sadly misrepresented scheme. We detect the idea in many forms in the history of the past, and in the writings of eminent jurists and philanthropists. We find very close approaches to it in the correspondence of Franklin; and see our American Congress at the close of the revolutionary war planning and negotiating treaties, which, did they now bind the powers of Christendom, would bind them in perpetual peace.

We trace something of this nature in the constitution of the Helvetic Union. "The Swiss," says Vattel, "have had the precaution, in all their alliances among themselves, and even in those they have contracted with the neighboring powers, to agree beforehand on the manner in which their disputes were to be submitted to arbitrators, in case they could not adjust them in an amicable manner. This wise precaution has not a little contributed to maintain the Helvetic republic in that flourishing state which secures its liberty, and renders it respectable throughout Europe."

Henry the Fourth of France, who was certainly no visionary, conceived the scheme of uniting all Europe in a pacific confederation of fifteen members, comprising eleven monarchies and four republics, with a general parliament to establish rules and modes of intercourse and to settle difficulties. He had gained the assent of several states, and even of Elizabeth of Great Britain, and was pursuing this great scheme with unabated ardor and sanguine confidence, when his days were cut short by the hand of Ravaillac.

William Penn in 1693 published an "Essay on the present and future peace of Europe," in which he strongly urged the plan of a general Congress for the settlement of disputes and the prevention of war.

St. Pierre, who died in 1743, spent much of his time and energy in digesting and urging upon the various European courts a common system of international legislation and arbitration.

We could fill many pages with extracts from Franklin's let-

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ters, in which he expresses most strongly his sentiment of the desirableness and feasibility of such international arrangements, as should anticipate and prevent the usual causes of war. When we turn over the volumes of his correspondence, and see with what an easy confidence this experienced and venerable statesman spoke of the probable and speedy accomplishment of these great objects, and then revert to the doubtful, apologetic tone, in which the friends of peace at the present day urge the same objects, we are constrained to believe that public opinion among us has retrograded within the last sixty years, and that we even need the scourge of foreign war to revive in us the faith of our fathers. We have seldom been more refreshed than by a review of the correspondence between Franklin and David Hartley, the British plenipotentiary near the close of the war. It is full of the most philanthropic suggestions, plans, and hopes. The following is from Franklin to Hartley.

"I received your favor of September 26, containing your very judicious proposition of securing the spectators in the opera and play-houses from the danger of fire. . . . . Your concern for the security of life, even the lives of your enemies, does honor to your heart and your humanity. But what are the lives of a few idle haunters of play-houses, compared with the many thousands of worthy men and honest industrious families, butchered and destroyed by this devilish war! O! that we could find some happy invention to stop the spreading of the flames, and put an end to so horrid a conflagration!"

He again writes to Hartley:

"There is, methinks, a point that has been too little considered in treaties, the means of making them durable. An honest peasant from the mountains of Provence brought me the other day a manuscript he had written on the subject, and which he could not procure permission to print. It appeared to me to have much good sense in it; and therefore I got some copies to be struck off for him to distribute where he may think fit. I send you one enclosed."

The following is also from a letter to Hartley:

"What would you think of a proposition, if I should make it, of a family compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls, if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband. What repeated follies are these repeated

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wars? You do not want to conquer or govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another? How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals, and other useful public works and institutions, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established with the money and men foolishly spent during the last seven centuries by our mad wars in doing one another mischief? You are near neighbors, and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet and to respect each other's rights. You are all Christians. One is the most christian king, and the other defender of the faith. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. *By this*, says Christ, *shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.* Seek peace, and ensure it."

The subject of privateering is repeatedly referred to in this correspondence; and both Hartley and Franklin used their most earnest endeavors to procure the insertion in the treaty of peace of an article declaring the plundering of private property in war to be contrary to the law of nations. "Try, my friend," says Franklin, at the close of an admirable letter on this subject, "Try what you can do, in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them, of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artisans, and cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species."

How strong was Franklin's sense of the absurdity and wickedness of war, we may gather from the following apologue quoted from a letter to Dr. Priestley.

"In what light we are viewed by superior beings, may be gathered from a piece of late West India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide; they arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies dead or dying, the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air, and

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the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another; he turned angrily to his guide, and said, 'You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell!' 'No, Sir,' says the guide, 'I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity.'"

The suggestions for an improvement of the law of nations, embodied in the following extract of a letter from Dr. Franklin to B. Vaughan, Esq., occur in various forms in numerous letters to the same and to other distinguished individuals.

"By the original law of nations, war and extirpation was the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery, instead of death. A farther step was, the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery. Another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquests, and to be content with acquired dominion. Why should not the law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps; but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened, why should it not be agreed to as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter the following descriptions of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in safety; namely,

"1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labor for the subsistence of mankind.

"2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

"3. Merchants and traders, in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

"4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

"It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested; they ought to be assisted.

"In short, I would have nobody fought with, but those who are paid for fighting. If obliged to take corn from the farmer, friend or enemy, I would pay him for it; the same for the fish or goods of the others.

"This once established, the encouragement to war, which arises from a spirit of rapine, would be taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting."

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These repeated proposals for "an amelioration of the law of nations," (and it is generally in these words or the like, that he brings such topics forward,) indicate that Franklin had conceived the idea of a general treaty among the powers of Europe and America, embracing the principal mooted points of international law. Nor was he alone in these views. The fathers of our republic seem to have been deeply imbued with them. Sore experience had taught them the bitterness and misery of war; and the establishment of general and perpetual peace was one of the first objects, to which they directed their counsels and efforts. The journals of the Congress of the Confederation are full of such programs, as now emanate only from the bureaux of our Peace Societies. May 7, 1784, Congress adopted resolutions, specifying certain points to be carefully stipulated in the treaties, which the American plenipotentiaries at Versailles might negotiate; and it was proposed to negotiate treaties on the same basis with the sixteen leading powers of Europe. These resolutions lay down principles of reciprocity in commerce, demand the entire exemption of private individuals and property from molestation in war, define what shall constitute blockade and what articles shall be deemed contraband of war, and stipulate the rights of aliens. Had treaties been at that time negotiated on this basis, the present demand for a Congress of Nations would have been anticipated, — we should have found the work wrought to our hands, — the most sanguine among us would desire no firmer foundation for relations of permanent peace and amity, than would have been thus afforded.

But the times were unpropitious. The revolutionary elements were working and heaving in the bosom of almost every European state. Our infant republic too, having so recently changed her attitude from that of a cluster of rebel colonies to that of an independent power, occupied a position unfavorable for the origination of political reform. Our commissioners were able, at that time, to negotiate but a single treaty, that with the King of Prussia, — a treaty, which probably embodies more of the true spirit of justice and humanity, than any state paper extant, and which should be familiar to every American as a far more truthful and precious memorial of the fathers of the republic, than those so much cherished war documents, of which the circumstances of the times were the authors, they but the amanuenses. In this treaty, the resolutions of May 7,

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1784, are carried out in full. The principle, not only of reciprocity in commerce, but of mutual assistance and protection, is the subject of minute and accurate provisions. The mutual rights and liabilities of each party, respectively, in a time of general peace, in wars in which both might be neutrals, and in wars in which one might be a party, are clearly defined. In case of war between the two contracting parties, it is stipulated, that all unarmed persons and private industry and property by sea or land shall be mutually respected, and that merchants of either country, residing in the other, shall have nine months allowed them to collect their debts and settle their affairs. It is farther provided, that prisoners of war taken by either party shall not be removed to distant or unhealthy parts of the world, that they shall not be kept in confinement or bodily restraint, that they shall be as well fed and lodged, as soldiers or officers of the same rank of the nation making them prisoners, and that at the close of the war there shall be a mutual adjustment and full settlement of the expenses incurred by each party in taking care of prisoners from the other. And with regard to this, and the preceding article relating to the inviolability of private property, follows this remarkable proviso. "And it is declared, that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending this and the next preceding article; but, on the contrary, that the state of war is precisely that for which they are provided; and during which they are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature or nations."

This treaty is the only one, which our Congress of the Confederation were able to negotiate on principles so humane and equitable; but in all their treaties we observe traces of the same spirit. They are all characterized by a specification of distant and contingent grounds of difficulty, and a definition of mutual rights and liabilities in a wide diversity of contingent cases. One cannot review the diplomatic records of that portion of our history, without being fully convinced that the fathers of the republic, in every arrangement, kept the establishment of permanently pacific relations in view as their most prominent object.

But it is time for us to offer some notice of the valuable publication, which has furnished the text for these remarks. The five first Essays in the volume were called forth by the

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offer of a prize by the American Peace Society for the best Dissertation on a Congress of Nations. It was found impossible to select one among the Essays offered as exclusively worthy of the prize; and, after several attempts to procure an award, the Executive Committee agreed to divide the prize between the five of the Essays, that were deemed the most suitable for publication, and to give them to the public without farther delay. The indefatigable President of the Society, Mr. Ladd, has added a sixth Essay, in which he has "gathered up the fragments," and compiled such additional statements and reasonings as were necessary to embody within the volume a complete view of the subject.

The first Essay is by John A. Bolles, Esq.; the fourth by Professor Upham of Bowdoin; the second, third, and fifth are anonymous. They are all of them worthy of the cause; and, taken together, they not only present the project of a Congress of Nations in a great variety of aspects, but also furnish numerous and ample illustrations of the causes, evils, and remedies of war, of the responsibilities of governments, citizens, and Christians with reference to the great subjects of peace and war, and the modes in which the cause of universal peace may be best promoted.

The appendix contains numerous petitions, memorials, and reports on the subject of a Congress of Nations, all of them full of weighty and interesting facts and reasonings. Among these we would particularly solicit attention to the "Second Petition of the New York Peace Society," as a specimen of close and powerful reasoning on the feasibility of the settlement of international law, and the establishment of a uniform system of arbitration; and to the report made to the Senate of Massachusetts by Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, April 4, 1837, as happily exhibiting the progress and the then existing state of public opinion on this important subject.

We close with assuring our readers that the volume, though large, will amply repay the time devoted to its perusal; and those, who may not be convinced, will retire from its pages instructed. It must do a most essential service in reviving faith in the practicability of the great moral enterprise to which it is consecrated, and in relieving the speculations and schemes of the friends of peace at the present day from the charge of novelty, inconsistency, and absurdity.

A. P. P.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

A Sermon on the death of John Lowell, LL. D., delivered in King's Chapel, Boston, March 22, 1840. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 36.

WE are but fulfilling a duty of gratitude in mentioning with respect the name of Mr. Lowell in the pages of this Journal. It is entitled to an honorable mention here, not only for the gifts and services, which have given him a place with the benefactors of society, but for the valuable contributions of his pen to the Examiner, and to its predecessor, The Christian Disciple. The heartiness and good will, which Dr. Greenwood has happily illustrated as a distinguishing trait in the character of Mr. Lowell, was in nothing more fully exhibited than in the ready zeal with which he met the *religious* as well as *political* exigencies of his times, and contributed his powerful aid to supply them. Nor was this all; nor even the greater part of his merit. He united the still rarer and more attractive quality, — rare, indeed, when combined with an ardor of spirit like his, — of perfect gentleness and good will under criticism. The docility, truly child-like, with which after pouring out his thoughts with a fulness and fervor exceedingly apt in others to beget an undue parental partiality for them, he would submit his manuscripts to the revision of hands and heads younger than his own, and suffer them to be changed, condensed, or abridged, was almost, we may say, without a parallel. We can gratefully, and with something like admiration, recall instances of this sort, in which great freedoms of criticism were not only *endured* — (which is the usual limit of human virtue in regard to such matters) — but were even thankfully received, and with the utmost cheerfulness adopted. What a contrast this to the feverish impatience and testiness of some, whose love of what they have once written is only less than the sin of idolatry.

But we hasten to the Discourse, which has called up this pleasant recollection of our late friend and honored fellow citizen. The sermon itself will be read, as we believe it was heard, with great satisfaction. Particularly is it to be commended for its just and discriminating eulogium. And amidst the examples that abound of exaggeration a nd fulsome praise, as impolitic as they are unjust, it is refreshing to find, as here, discretion and good taste in conferring honors upon the dead. This is a difficult service, and requires for its performance both wisdom

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and integrity. We fear, that the Pulpit is not always faithful to its trust in this regard. It should give flattering titles to no man, which work the double mischief of compromising its own dignity, and of doing a deep injustice to the subject of such flattery. If, as must happen in a world where everything is imperfect, great virtues and preëminent gifts are united with undeniable faults, let the faults be gracefully admitted, or at least let us have no fanciful exhibitions of immaculate excellence. Let the preacher remember, that he is called to speak not of saints and of seraphs, but of men; and that nothing is so likely to provoke unmerited censure on one part as exaggerated praises on the other.

We cannot avoid remarking the singular felicity — (it really does one's heart good to consider it) — of the preacher in the choice of his text on this occasion. It is precisely the one, which, of all others that might have been selected, marks the character of Mr. Lowell. How could "his complete and undisguised heartiness in purpose and action" have been better exhibited than in the account of King Hezekiah, as written in the Book of the Chronicles, Ch. xxxi. 21. "In every work, that he began in the service of the House of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, *he did it with all his heart*, and was prospered."

The active life of Mr. Lowell was spent amidst great public excitements. It was a period both in our political and ecclesiastical condition well suited to call forth the characteristic energy of his spirit. It was fruitful, also, as are all such periods, in eminent men. Dr. Greenwood having mentioned Parsons, Sullivan, Dexter, and Otis, as his associates at the bar, thus speaks of those who were "associated with him in friendship, in public concerns, and political sentiments." Of these, he says,

"I will mention only three; Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, and George Cabot. To have belonged to such a company — his elders — men of virtue as well as of intellect — to have been received into the hearts as well counsels of such men, is of itself a diploma and a character. They too have gone to the land to which our friend has just been taken. As I repeat their names, with those already repeated, and join them with his, the spirit of the past comes over me, and bows me to do justice to it, and reverence. Is there an equal gathering of the illustrious now? Good and nobly gifted men we have among us in the maturity of their faculties, and others are coming on. All times have their men, and will have. This is the order of Providence. I do not believe in the dying out or the deterioration of mind. But I ask whether there is now such a large and bright constellation as was clustered together at that time? It has been my privilege to watch some of its component stars, as in their serene lustre they hung

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for a while in the West, and then sunk below the horizon, — and whether I turn to the East, or raise my regards to the Meridian, I confess, that though the heavens are full of lights, I see no such congregated and fraternal brightness as was that which is now almost gone down. But all stars must set, and the observers also must lie down in the dust; and this inevitable and constant event should serve to bring back our thoughts to the great and subduing facts of our mortality." — pp. 10, 11.

It may have been supposed, that in the ardor of political controversy, in which Mr. Lowell for a series of years was so earnestly engaged, he might have been betrayed by his temperament into the usual errors of party politicians, bitterness and ill humor, or have incurred the common reproach of selfish aims and purposes. To the cause he espoused he certainly gave his whole heart, and many and able were the productions of "his fervid genius and rapid pen." His opponents, also, stood in fear of him, and would have been too happy to have found occasion against him. But, as Dr. Greenwood testifies, — and the testimony is of no small weight, —

"Thus much I may say; — that amid all the violence of contending parties, Mr. Lowell's sincerity and integrity were never seriously questioned; that his motives were manifestly pure; that he never sought a political office, and never would accept one; that amid all the buffets of the conflict, he never cherished one spark of malice or one root of bitterness in his heart, which was no place for the one or the other; and that as I lately glanced over some of the pamphlets of which he was the author, not with all the attention they deserved, but with all I could spare, entertaining the common impression that the zeal of the times and the zeal of his own nature had often betrayed him into offensive and uncharitable statements, and remembering also, as I well remembered, the language of mutual exasperation, which was everywhere to be heard during that tempestuous period, I was surprised to find how little there was of an objectionable description in those writings, and was rather struck with their power of argument and store of rich illustration, than with their heat." — pp. 15 - 17.

Mr. Lowell, though holding an eminent rank in his profession, withdrew from the practice of it soon after 1804; affording a rare instance in our community at once of early professional success, and of philosophic contentment with what he had obtained.

"It was one of his characteristics, that he was not at all desirous of amassing wealth. He valued independence of circumstances for himself and his family: that independence he had achieved by his youthful toils; and he had no wish for more."

Again, — and it is a lesson which we earnestly commend in passing to the consideration of the sanguine schemers and speculators of our day, —

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"He never, through all the fluctuations and depressions, which this country for the last forty years has witnessed, impaired his property, or sought hastily to increase it by speculation."

For, as the preacher had just before remarked,

"Mr. Lowell's warmth of character existed in a rare combination with exemplary prudence in the administration of his affairs, in counsel, and in the essentials of deportment."—p. 29.

The happy consequences of this uncommon union of qualities were found in the enjoyment of an elegant competence, in freedom from the anxieties inseparable from schemes, so common with us and so often fatal, of great and sudden accumulation; in the serenity of domestic enjoyment, in unbroken friendships, in philosophic pleasures, and in religious trust.

To each of these sources of satisfaction we might distinctly advert. Of the two latter, his intellectual and religious character, we cannot do so well as to quote again the preacher's words.

"I have said enough already of Mr. Lowell's intellect. It was of a very high order. It entered into all subjects of thought. It was distinguished for its celerity of operation, its independence, and its strong grasp of whatever was presented to it. And yet he was as humble as a child. I have been surprised, and sometimes almost oppressed, by the unaffectedly respectful attention with which he has received some of my own imperfect remarks. He seemed grateful for any knowledge from any source.

"Shall I speak of his religious character? I should do him no justice if I did not. With his characteristic susceptibility and delicacy, he avoided the obtrusion of his religious doctrines or devotional sentiments. But it was impossible not to perceive, from constant indications, that the sanctions of religion were ever present with him. He believed in God, he believed also in his Son Jesus Christ, with a heartfelt and practical belief. His thoughts of God were of the most reverential and prevailing kind. He referred his life and all things to his holy will. He attended the services of the Sanctuary as frequently as his health would permit. He did not think that because he was able to worship alone in God's beautiful fields, he was absolved from the duty of social worship in God's holy house."—pp. 29, 30.

We conclude our notice of this eloquent tribute to the memory of a gifted and excellent man, with the following extract, for which we are sure that those of our readers, who may not have perused the sermon, will thank us.

"Within late years Mr. Lowell gradually withdrew from the situations of public trust which he had been filling,—situations of trust and honor, though not of emolument,—and gave himself wholly to his family, his friends, his books, and his garden. In this latter place he

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might always be found, in Spring, in Summer, in Autumn; and even in Winter his visits to his greenhouse were frequent; nothing but a tempest or a fit of illness could keep him away. Here, at almost any hour, this aged man of long experience and many conflicts might be seen, absolutely absorbed in his flowers and plants, which grew in silence and fragrance around him, and which gratefully rewarded him for his love and culture, by the delightful occupation which they afforded for every leisure moment, and the solace which they brought to pain, age, and infirmity to the very last. Blessed creatures of God! How I wonder that there are not more who will avail themselves of the pleasure, wisdom, and comfort which you can so abundantly impart; that there are so many, who, while they utterly neglect you and the other wonderful works of the Creator, yet complain that there is nothing to interest them, nothing to fill up their idle and unprofitable hours!" — pp. 32, 33.

Lectures to Young Men on the Cultivation of the Mind, the Formation of Character, and the Conduct of Life; delivered in Masonic Hall, Baltimore. By GEORGE W. BURNAP, Pastor of the First Independent Church. Baltimore: John Murphy. 1840. 12mo. pp. 144.

THESE lectures of Mr. Burnap, printed at the request of the young men to whom they were delivered, form a very valuable addition to our books of practical religion. None could have heard them without great benefit to both heart and head, — none can read them without profit. They have been written with especial reference to the young men of cities; but the counsels and the warnings they contain, their earnest and eloquent appeals in behalf of an industrious and virtuous life, are adapted equally to all in town or country. But we shall better show our sense of the value of this little volume by permitting it to speak for itself, than by any vague commendatory common places. The two first lectures are on the cultivation of the mind. Mr. Burnap contends strenuously for literary cultivation on the part of *young men of business*, and maintains that they are even in the midst of the busiest life favorably situated for making large and various attainments in good letters or the sciences, and that mental cultivation is by no means the duty and the affair of recluse students alone. In the following quotation the reader will find a fair specimen of the manner and tone of the volume.

"But I feel," says Mr. Burnap, "while I am thus commending the cultivation of the mind, that an objection is occurring to many who hear me, that I am speaking of something which is the exclusive business of scholars, of professional or literary men, or at most, of men of leisure and fortune. Cultivation of the mind, it is too often supposed, must be confined

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to men of liberal education, who have passed years in the quiet walks of a university, or turned over the volumes of extensive libraries. But all history pronounces this objection false. The lives of the wisest and most eminent of mankind have demonstrated, that the disposition for self-improvement is infinitely more important than the means. The *will* will ever make for itself a way. The most eminent of mankind have been those who have been self-educated men, who have pursued knowledge under the greatest disadvantages. The difficulty of the attainment has made the prize seem only the more precious, has excited only a more unyielding determination, and nerved to more indefatigable efforts. Two of the sages who were selected by that august assembly which severed forever these states from the mother country, to draw that immortal instrument which declares us free and independent, were mechanics; they had attained their acknowledged eminence among their fellow citizens by no superiority of early advantages. Franklin became the wisest man of his age amidst the drudgery of types and proof sheets, and Sherman became a statesman while engaged in the still humbler occupation of making shoes. A blacksmith, who daily exercises his muscles at the anvil, is the most learned linguist now in the United States. To my own mind, the advantages of what is called a university education are less and less clear every year of my life. It is true it makes men learned in languages, and books, and scientific phraseology, but it is at a prodigious sacrifice of other things quite as important, a knowledge of men and things, at that period of life too when such knowledge can only be attained. I have often seen and lamented the inferiority of such educated men even to the illiterate, in the practical business of life. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that education to be the best, which combines the advantages of a speculative and an active life. He will be the wisest and most efficient man, who superadds to some regular employment, bringing him largely into contact with mankind, assiduous habits of study, reading, and meditation. This course of education I verily believe best calculated to develop the whole man, to preserve both physical and intellectual health, to combine theoretical knowledge with practical judgment, to unite refinement of taste with energy of character. You then, who hear me this night, are perhaps in the best possible situation to acquire the most valuable education. You live in a city, where it is impossible for the mind to stagnate. The very newspapers afford you the means of more extensive information than libraries and colleges did three hundred years ago. The average of employment by no means absorbs the whole of your time, nor tasks your faculties to the point of weariness and exhaustion. Books are at your disposal of any kind and in any abundance. Conversation, social discussion, mutual instruction, public lectures, are all within your reach. Nothing is wanting but the will, nothing is wanting but the taste to prefer the ennobling, the satisfactory cultivation of the intellect to the inanity of idleness, or frivolous company, or vapid amusements.

"I lay it down then, as a first principle in the cultivation of the mind, that there can be no intellectual progress without study, an earnest, diligent, perservering application of the mental faculties. This is the only effectual means of making the mind powerful in itself. Mere accumulation of knowledge is not the thing most desirable. It is strength of mind.

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It is discipline more than acquisition. The faculties of the mind bear a close analogy to the powers of the physical frame. The muscles can acquire strength, firmness, and endurance, only on the condition of continual exercise. It is in vain that you nourish the body with the greatest variety of the most luxurious food. Sickness will be produced not health, weakness not strength, unless there goes with it powerful action, continual exercise. So mere desultory and miscellaneous reading is more apt to be pernicious than useful. It is more likely to enervate than strengthen the mind. Hence it is, that we often see intellectual and strong-minded men, who have scarcely ever read a book. They have read men and things, not books, in this great world. What they have seen and experienced in life, has been thoroughly digested by meditation, and been wrought into the very texture of a powerful and vigorous mind. On the presentation of a new subject, (which after all is the test of a sound education,) such a mind grasps it with a firm and tenacious hold. It sees what there is in it. It detects its strong and its weak points. It is able to make up a solid judgment, to decide with promptness, and act with energy. Education is not a holiday dress, to be put on only to shine and to dazzle. It is an armor of strong defence and solid weapons, by which man goes down into the fierce battle of this world, conquering and to conquer. That education I honestly believe is best, which mingles books with business, action with meditation, theory with practice, interchanges solitude with society. I consider it then propitious rather than unfavorable in the condition of the most of those who hear me, that you are engaged in active employments. Milton, the greatest master in English literature, was a considerable part of his life a schoolmaster. Newton interchanged his sublime studies with the dry and monotonous duties of master of the mint. Our Bowditch, that miracle of self-education, pursued those mathematical studies, which afterwards made him the translator of La Place, and the universal guide of navigation through the trackless seas, in the uncongenial employment of a supercargo, and a sea captain. And Charles Lamb, that most accomplished of Belles Lettres scholars, and sweetest of prose writers, passed his life at the desk of a common clerk. Roscoe, the historian of Leo the Tenth, was an active and successful merchant, at the same time that he was delighting the world with his literary productions. Bacon was one of the most laborious men that ever lived, in the common drudgery of his profession. He was at the same time the deepest of philosophers, and yet he found leisure so to cultivate elegant literature, as to become the most perfect master of mere English composition, that the nation has ever produced." — pp. 16 - 20

The second Lecture is also on the cultivation of the mind, and embraces the following topics: — Foreign and Ancient Languages; Metaphysics, Ethics; Politics; Political Economy; History; Pure Literature; Books of Reference. In his estimate of the relative value of studies, Mr. Burnap decides strongly against languages, ancient or modern, in favor of philosophy, mental and moral, and political economy. The third and fourth Lectures are on the formation of character. The topics of the

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first of the two are, — Genius; Talent; Decision of Character; Industry; Perseverance; Speculation; Economy; Sentiments, Feelings, and Dispositions. The following offers true and wholesome doctrine on the subject of Genius.

"But before I proceed to the general subject of these lectures, I have one word to say on the use of certain terms, which I conceive to be exceedingly pernicious to young men, and those terms are genius and talents. We hear them used by the young with a frequency, a flippancy, and a vagueness, which is painful, I had almost said, disgusting. The use of these terms operates as an injury to all parties; to those who imagine themselves to possess these fine endowments, by inducing them to trust to their native powers, and to omit that discipline and application which are absolutely necessary to the best capacities, and often leads them to affect an eccentricity of conduct which makes them perfect nuisances in society. As injurious is it to those, who suppose themselves to have shared a slender portion in nature's general inheritance. They imagine that no efforts can place them on a level with the more gifted, and therefore are contented with a dull mediocrity, all their days. I admit that there are occasionally instances of transcendent endowments, such as can achieve miracles in literature, in the arts, and perhaps in professional attainment. But these instances are exceedingly rare; and then such talents are God's especial gift to the world, not to their immediate possessors. For genius is generally the predominance of one power or faculty, which renders the character ill balanced in precise proportion to its preponderance, and therefore unfitted for the general business and responsibilities of life. Taking out those few instances of unquestionable superiority, there is less difference in the original endowments of mankind than is generally supposed. What usually passes for genius is the result of early intellectual habits, and still more often, of thorough and careful preparation for every individual effort. What is called talent, is that judgment, facility, and expertness, which is gained by judicious and persevering direction of good native powers, and a well balanced mind, to some particular employment. I have seen hundreds of young men pass through the ordeal of an academic education, and then assume their places in society; and I can safely say, that academic rank was oftener the result of intense application than genius, and was no further indication of future eminence than as forming habits of industry and perseverance, which are the first requisites to success in all situations. No man can tell whether he is a genius or not, until he has devoted himself a reasonable time with all that ardor, which is the characteristic of genius, to that pursuit, which seems most congenial to his natural disposition." — pp. 62 - 64.

We extract a sentence from the same chapter, comprehensive in its thought, terse in language, and which in few words presents an excellent philosophy of life. There are not many sentences in any book better worth storing in the memory.

"When you have sufficient intelligence to perceive what you ought to be, and judgment enough to discern what you may be, and decis-

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ion enough to determine what you will be, the next indispensable qualities to success are industry and perseverance." — p. 67.

Lectures fifth and sixth are on the conduct of life. The fifth on the relations of the sexes, and embracing the following subdivisions,—The springing and influences of virtuous love; Libertinism, its destructive effects upon industry and religion; Seduction, and illicit connexions, — is manly, bold, earnest, and therefore eloquent. The sixth, and last, is devoted to intemperance and gaming, under the heads of, — Intemperance not only a habit but a disease; its causes; the natural desire of society and excitement; the employment of leisure hours; disappointment in business; its remedy; the causes and consequences of gaming.

Among the causes of intemperance, Mr. Burnap thus speaks of the desire of society and of excitement.

"Intemperance usually has its origin in two wants of our nature, both natural and both perfectly innocent, the desire of society and the desire of excitement. These are two constituent elements of our nature, designed to promote our individual and social happiness and improvement. We are made to delight in the company and conversation of our fellow beings, particularly with those of the same age or pursuit. Hence it is, that the boy and youth are seen to rush from home, whenever they can escape parental control, and form groups on the playgrounds and at the corners of the streets. Society, either for good or for evil, the young will have. But how shall they entertain themselves and each other? Stories, jokes, and fun are soon exhausted. Excitement must be kept up, and so they think it manly and spirited, to adjourn to some neighboring bar-room or tippling shop and get something to drink. Beware! young man. This is the moment for the resistance of temptation: here the first steps are taken in that downward path, which leads by a more and more rapid descent to the precipice of perdition. The first indulgence is generally entirely indifferent. To abstain from it requires little or no effort. Then is the time for the effort to be made. If it is not made, a few instances of indulgence begin to beget a taste, to form a habit, to induce a disease, to impair the moral sense, and then the young man is ruined even in the morning of life. He is wrecked before he has parted from the shore.

"This universal element of our nature, the desire of society and excitement, requires a deeper investigation and a more careful regulation than has hitherto been given to it, on account of its influence upon the condition of public morals. It may be laid down as a maxim, that it will have its gratification in one way or another. Pass through a country village, and you will usually see collected about the stores or taverns a group of men and boys, in the various stages from simple idleness to downright vagabondism! What brought them there, and what has brought them there every day for the last ten years? Had they any deliberate design to become tipplers and vagabonds? Was it the love of strong drink that brought them there? By no means. It was the desire of society, excitement, and entertainment. Their own homes gave them little of either. They had no books and no education to

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appreciate them, if they had any. They of course could have no very interesting or instructive conversation. They went to the store or tavern to fill up an almost entire vacuity of mind, to hear the news, to see the stage-coach pass, or the mail arrive, or to stare at whatever strangers might there be seen. Now, to cure this evil, all municipal arrangements, and legal enactments are vain and powerless. They do not touch the cause. Until some better provision is made for education, some better scope given for the desire of society and entertainment, there will be no cure for intemperance.

"The young man's fate depends entirely on the manner in which he treats these two desires, the desire of society and of excitement; in other words, on the manner in which he chooses to spend his leisure moments. When his time hangs heavy, if he has cultivated a literary taste, so that his hours pass happily with a book, he is safe and in the way of substantial improvement. If when weary of that, he seeks the firesides of the most agreeable and intelligent of his acquaintance, or even the common party of pleasure, still he is safe. But if he bends his steps to the bar-room, or the oyster-house, he is at once in the greatest peril. A habit is beginning to form, that of resorting to a dangerous place, and there is no possibility of foreseeing where it will end." — pp. 129 - 132.

A compassionate and discriminating spirit pervades the treatment of the subjects of the two last lectures. In condemning the vices of the young, the Lecturer does not lose sight of humanity. He loves whom he warns and rebukes. We hope that the young men of our cities especially, will read Mr. Burnap's volume, and that some pains will be taken by those who have charge of the young to place it in their hands. A good book of this class often perishes through the neglect of those who ought to be its friends. A novel needs no heralding, yet receives it on all sides; a religious book can scarcely make its own way, be it never so good; yet few stand ready to give it a helping hand.

De La Democratie en Amerique par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Seconde Partie. Tomes deux. Paris. 1840. *Democracy in America by* ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Part Second.

THE first part of M. De Tocqueville's work, which treated of the political institutions of the United States, and their relation to public opinion, gained for the author commendation at all hands, and won for him the title of the Montesquieu of the age. The second part, or continuation of the former work, treating of the various influences of Democracy, is now before us, and shows the power of the same master mind.

It is divided into four books, which discuss respectively the

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influence of Democracy upon the intellectual movement in the United States, upon the sentiments of the Americans, upon manners, and upon political society.

From the nature of the subjects, the latter work might be expected to be more interesting than the former. For so much attention has been given to our political institutions and character, that comparatively little has been said upon what is far more important, — our opinions, feelings, and manners, as affected by our form of government. We have indeed had satires enough upon American vulgarism and irreverence, and eulogiums quite as empty, upon the grandeur of everything American. But it is a very rare thing to have a candid critique upon American society, by one whose rational sympathy with our principles proves him able to understand our faults.

It could not be expected, that the present work should add much to the author's reputation; for he had before written so fully concerning our country, that the subject and the author's point of view no longer have the charm of novelty and freshness. Moreover, it could not be anticipated, that one, who had shown himself so adept a political philosopher, could shine equally in the somewhat alien sphere of manners and morals and religion. Yet much observation and insight are shown in the present work, and no American can read it, without owning, that he has been led to consider our country in some new points of view, if he has not received any positively new ideas. If we were disposed to make any animadversion on the work, it would be this; the author does not argue so much from facts observed, as in the former work, but more from general principles. In this way he fails often to take the whole data into account, and arrives at erroneous conclusions.

We were struck by this feature of the book in what appeared to us the most interesting portion, the few chapters on religion.

He is correct doubtless in what he says of the tendency of the clergy in America to adapt religion, as far as is consistent, to the democratic spirit of the country, and to remove the ceremonial character, which it has in the old world. But his argument in proof of the tendency of democracies towards Pantheism and Catholicism seems very much overstrained. To argue, that our people are inclined to believe in a God, who is merely the sum total of the powers of the universe, and not a distinct intelligence, from the fact that our nation has no permanent rulers, but is merely a collection of individuals, this is a specimen of French generalization, pretty enough in works of purely abstract character, but not satisfactory in one, who sits in the judgment-seat, and utters to the world grave sentence upon so momentous

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a subject, as the religion of America. We are aware, that the opinion as to the tendency of democratic institutions towards Catholicism is by no means peculiar to De Tocqueville. But no great array of names will make us believe, that our land of liberty is ever to be the seat of Papal Supremacy. Much might be written upon the points, just touched upon. But a long article would be requisite. Our aim is to give a passing notice of one of the most important books of the day.

Week-Day Religion. By JASON WHITMAN, Pastor of the Park Street Church, Portland. Portland: O. L. Sanborn. 1840.

WE love to speak of a book, when we can heartily commend it. And no book are we disposed to commend more heartily, than one which we are sure will do good, however common its subject or plain its style. Of the book here noticed, neither the subject nor the style will probably attract those, who can be drawn by no other consideration. Yet the subject is not trite. As here expressed and here treated, it is rather an unusual subject. Week-day religion! How little do we hear of it, compared with any other kind of religion. We are told, to be sure, that the religion of the Sabbath should be carried into the week, should direct the conduct, and govern the life. But this is said in the most general way, with little definiteness or effect. While by many ministers and churches it is hardly said at all, but the idea ridiculed, that there can be any *religion* in what is called "week-day morality." It is the object of Mr. Whitman to show, that there can be religion in everything; that there ought to be; that every-day life is the very place for religion to manifest its presence and power, and not only to manifest, but to increase and enlarge its power, by fidelity in common duty and the ordinary relations and work of life.

This object the author keeps steadily in view, and accomplishes ably. With language remarkably simple, but vigorous and always lucid, with a variety of illustrations well-selected and well-pointed, looking throughout to the highest standard of Christian truth and integrity, he treats the important topics of Vital Piety, Piety and Morality, Labor, Economy, Honesty, The Golden Mean, and The Right Use of Property. These seven chapters make a volume of good size and of great value. We should be at a loss to turn to a volume where the same subjects are treated so directly and thoroughly, or with such fidelity to the common weaknesses and wants. The leading design may be said to be — "to show that the appropriate manifestation of

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a pious frame of the soul, consists in the conscientious discharge of all the various duties of life, in the endeavor to obey in all things the will of God, as made known in the instructions of Jesus." The instructions of Jesus, the principles and precepts of the Gospel, are to guide and govern us in everything. And we are particularly to guard against the error, on the one hand, of separating religion from morality, as do many Christians; and on the other hand, of supposing, as do some both in the church and the world, that the highest principles of the Gospel are not practical, and some of its rules not practicable or strictly applicable to the ordinary business of life. This last error is a very great and a very common one. We find men, who think and assert, that there are departments of society, relations, paths, and pursuits, where the piety or highest morality of the Gospel *cannot* be observed and entirely carried out. Against this error and evil, in all its forms, Mr. Whitman writes earnestly and reasons strongly. He spares no prejudices and no selfishness. The union of courage with discrimination and kindness distinguishes his manner, and makes his book everyway profitable.

We were particularly struck with the display of these qualities, — indispensable in a practical writer, — in the chapter on Honesty; in its largest sense, that virtue of virtues. He has dealt with it, and with the consciences and practices of his readers, as they greatly needed to be dealt with. We would not assert, — for we could not make good the assertion, — that as a people we are peculiarly deficient in the graces of this virtue. We would not assert, — for we might not be able to make good our assertion, — that in this part of the country we are more deficient in these graces than in others. But this we know and assert, that *absolutely* we are chargeable in every direction, and in the transactions of every business, with the vice of dishonesty. We know that it is not easy to find one with whom you may deal, in a perfect assurance that in one way or another you will not be cheated, deceived, overreached, or injured in some of the thousand covert ways in which a selfish, cunning, and unprincipled man may come over the trusting and unsuspicious. It is a vice that infects and debases our character in a manner greatly to humble us; the more, too, as we are proverbially a religious people. A people distinguished for their religious institutions and zeal, and remarkable also for their want of honesty, presents to the mind a contradiction as painful to contemplate as could well be framed or imagined. That this should be true, can be explained only we think on the ground, that the religion, which has so long prevailed in New England,

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has been one which exalted faith and prayer, and cast contempt upon works; which too often spoke of the "filthy rags of righteousness." The union of great religious pretension and fervor with a loose and low morality is just the fruit we might suppose such doctrine would bear, — a fruit of deadly poison to the character and fair fame of a people. Mr. Whitman in every page of his book shows himself alive to the vice, and comes manfully to the rescue. We hope what he has said will have the effect to turn the attention of preachers and writers more and more to the subject. Let them leave for a while the topic of Intemperance, which it no longer, as once, needs courage to assail, and fall foul of dishonesty in all its Proteus forms, which it does need courage and skill to assail and ferret out of its hiding places, and hold up to the scorn and detestation of the virtuous mind. When other associations shall have answered their end, one for the *suppression of dishonesty* would not be amiss.

But we would rather let Mr. Whitman speak. The Saviour's golden rule he takes as the "distinct principle of Gospel Honesty," and maintains at length that it enjoins a perfectly practicable morality. We give here a long extract, both for its intrinsic value, and to allow the reader to judge of the character of the work.

"I know," says Mr. Whitman in the chapter on Honesty, "there are some, who will say, distinctly and unhesitatingly, that men cannot succeed, while acting upon this principle. And especially, in all the intricacies of mercantile transactions, there are some, merchants themselves, who will say frankly, that, if a man is determined to act upon this principle, he may as well give up the business, he cannot succeed. They will indeed speak highly of the beauty of this principle. It is beautiful in theory, say they, but it is too elevated and refined for every-day practice, or at least, for practice in the present state of society.

"This remark is well calculated to startle any one, who has a deep and heartfelt regard for the Gospel. But it is in perfect accordance with the opinions in regard to Gospel requirements, upon other subjects, which are often expressed. If you express your disapprobation of the practice of duelling, and urge the Gospel principle of forgiveness of insult and injury, the answer is, this is all very fine in theory, but it is too elevated, too refined for practice. It seems to be thought, that, if you will express warm approbation of the Gospel principle of forgiveness of injuries, it will atone for your practising upon the principle of revenging insults. And so in this it seems to be thought, that, if you admire the beauty of the principle in theory, you may be permitted, on that account, to go out and pursue a course of practice the very opposite.

"We sometimes speak of skepticism and infidelity, and express our fears at its alarming and increasing prevalence. But to me this want of faith in the practical principles of the Gospel is the most alarming

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form which skepticism or infidelity has ever assumed. A want of faith, I say, in the practical principles of the Gospel. By this I mean that men do not believe, that the practical principles of the Gospel are adapted to the ordinary business transactions of society, or are calculated to promote the best interests, and the greatest good, of either individuals or the community. They profess to believe these principles to be beautiful in themselves, beautiful in theory, and admit that, *if they could be carried out into practice*, they would produce a state of society on earth, far exceeding most men's conceptions of heavenly purity. Still, they content themselves with this avowed admiration, and neglect the endeavor to carry them out into their own, individual, every-day practice. They go on, manifesting an outward respect for the gospel and its instructions, while they regulate their conduct by the maxims and practices of the world. This, I have said, is the most dangerous form of skepticism and infidelity. It encrusts the soul with indifference, hardens the heart, and puts the conscience asleep. Those who adopt these views will listen to the most earnest appeals upon these subjects, and admire the spirit and fervor of him who makes them, while they console themselves, under acknowledged deficiencies and deviations, with the thought that the clergyman knows nothing of the difficulty of applying these principles in practice; that they are appropriate to the pulpit, the house of God, and the Sabbath, but that they are all unfit for the market place, the store, the counting room, or the work shop. I enter then my solemn protest against this most dangerous form of skepticism and infidelity. If our religion be of any value, it is especially valuable, because it is adapted to the regulation of men's conduct in their week-day business transactions. It was intended not merely to fit souls for a state of purity and holiness, and consequent happiness beyond the grave, but to produce a state of society on earth, marked by its purity and peace, by its uprightness, honesty, and holiness. Believing this, I contend that the principle of Gospel honesty to which I have alluded, the principle of doing to others as we would have others do to us, is the best possible principle of honesty, which men can adopt in their common transactions of business.

"To this important question, then, whether this principle of Gospel honesty was intended to be carried out to the regulation of the details of men's ordinary transactions with each other, whether it can be so carried out, and whether, if so carried out and constantly adhered to, it will promote the prosperity, the success, the best good of him who thus carries it out and adheres to it? To this question, I answer that, if it was not intended to be thus applied to every-day and business affairs, it has no meaning or force at all. If you can show any one case, in which it is proper for men knowingly and wilfully to disregard this principle, then I will undertake to show that, in no instance, is it proper to regard it. I answer, still further, that this principle can be carried out into practice; that, although the community may have generally most sadly and most widely departed from it in the spirit of their dealings with each other, still, if an individual will firmly adopt and perseveringly adhere to it, he will find no difficulties, which he will not he enabled, by the aid of prayer, in the exercise of faith, and of unwavering confidence in God, in his

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veracity and in his goodness, easily to overcome. To this question I answer, still further, and finally, that if this principle be adopted and adhered to, it will promote all reasonable prosperity in business, will secure the respect of all around, and inward peace and happiness. I would say to every man of business, that, if he will enter his place of business, whatever it may be, with the determination there to show himself the Christian, with the determination that he will, in all cases, adhere to this Gospel principle of honesty, and will persevere in this determination, he will find, that it will secure the confidence and the respect of those with whom he may deal, and will add tenfold to the enjoyment of what he may gain. For Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. But let him adopt this principle with reasonable expectations, as to its influence. He may perhaps, by his adherence to it, be occasionally prevented from securing accumulations, which he might otherwise have gained. He may not acquire riches so rapidly as he otherwise would; he may forego many opportunities of taking advantage of his neighbor, from a regard to his principles. But let him look at his own peace of mind, at the moral complexion of his character, at the state of his spiritual affections, and he will see that he has gained more, in these, than he has lost of pecuniary profit." — pp. 183 – 190.

We offer another passage in the same connexion.

"I have said more upon this point than I otherwise should have done, because, in the first place, I have feared that men do not seriously and conscientiously intend to practise upon this principle, and because, in the second place, unless this principle be adopted, unless it be established, that it was intended to be carried into practice in business transactions, it would be utterly useless to say anything further upon the subject. We have no common ground to stand upon, no fixed point from which to start. What was honorable yesterday may not be so to-day; what is honorable to-day may not be so to-morrow. And if we determine the question, as to what is honorable, it will be but a matter of opinion, resting on no authority, even when most firmly fixed, and constantly liable to change. Let this then be regarded as the fixed and unalterable law of Christianity, that, in all the various intercourse of men with one another, in all their traffic and barter, in all their bargains and trade, they are to do as they would be done by. I have known the conscientious young man, who left the store in which he was placed, and renounced the thought of continuing in mercantile pursuits, because he was told that he could not succeed, if he adhered to this principle. And I fully believe that every one, who is possessed of the Christian spirit, who is governed by Christian principles, would at once renounce any pursuit, in which he might be engaged, just as soon as convinced that he could not expect to succeed in it, without disregarding or violating this fundamental principle of Gospel honesty. Suppose you, that he, who intends to be a follower of Jesus, will continue on, day after day, and year after year, in a pursuit, in which he feels that he must disregard the principles of the Gospel? Most surely not. For myself, I do not believe that business transactions cannot be conducted upon Gospel

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principles. I believe that there may be, that there are now, and that there have been in times past, Merchants, Lawyers, and men in all the various pursuits of business, who have acted upon this principle, and who, under the guidance of this principle, have been in as religious and pious a frame of soul, as truly conscious of the presence of God, and as mindful of their accountability to him, while making a bargain or engaged in other transactions of business, as while offering a prayer. I believe the assertion, that business transactions cannot be conducted upon Gospel principles, to be a libel upon business life, uttered by those, who understand neither the true principles of the Gospel, nor the best modes of business. And, I beg of all, especially of all young men, who are now forming their opinions and establishing their principles for a life of business, to spurn every such thought. I would say to those who make this assertion, will you tell us, yourselves, that the whole process of business, in which you are engaged, is one continued succession of knavery, cheating, and fraud? Will you say to a young man, 'you cannot be a business man and remain an honest man?' Will you say all this, and still expect to enjoy, yourselves, the confidence and the respect of those, to whom you say it? It is not so. There are honest and Christian men in the various walks of business; we have known them, we have seen them tried, we have had the proof of their honesty before us.

"If then I were speaking to a young man, and an intimate friend, just about to enter upon a life of business, I would say to him, 'you, should enter upon this course of life, with the firm conviction, that the Gospel principle is *the* principle by which you should be guided, that, on no occasion, are you to allow even the thought of a departure from that principle, or the wish to depart from it, to rest for a moment in your mind.' Therefore, I should further say to him, 'your first business is with your own soul. You are to see to it, that your internal man, if I may so speak, is in a truly honest frame. You are to ask, in regard to any business transaction, in which you may engage, whether you can say to yourself, before your own conscience, and before that God whose eye penetrates the inner man, and takes cognizance of all its various states, whether, in this view, you can say to yourself, without fear of contradiction from within or from above, that you have honestly endeavored to do as in an exchange of circumstances you would wish to be done by?' This is the first step, to deal faithfully with yourselves, with your own souls, your own consciences; to know whether, in the inmost recesses of your souls, there is honesty of purpose and intention." — pp. 194 - 199.

None, we believe, will be disposed to think upon reading Mr. Whitman's book, that we have overrated its value. We hope it will not have been written and published merely to lie on the booksellers' shelves; but that pains will be taken to place it in the hands of the young, and that it will help to give preaching a direction to some of the important topics of which he treats.

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Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vol. I. Savannah. 1840.

We hail this volume with more than ordinary pleasure; for its very appearance, and especially the materials and merits which appear in its three hundred ample pages on a little examination indicate, what to us is a matter of cordial satisfaction, the progress of that interest in American History, and in its preservation, which has long been so faint among us, that it might at times be considered no better than extinguished altogether; — supposing, that is, that it ever existed at all. To account for this indifference and neglect would be much easier than to justify it; but instead of doing either, or of taking up time in useless lamentations over the past and the lost, we turn to the brighter prospects before us, suggested by these collections, and similar compositions, which have recently appeared in various quarters. And not by compositions alone. The formation of societies is another good sign. Judge Law, in his excellent oration, alludes to this subject in just and generous terms. He gives our own Commonwealth the leading honors, which she certainly deserves, for the establishment of an Historical Association as early as the year 1791, by some of our most distinguished citizens, (among whom were Belknap and Sullivan, the historians,) and the publication of now about thirty volumes octavo. We believe the New York Society, as the Judge reminds us, was organized in 1804, by Egbert Benson, the first President, De Witt Clinton, T. L. Mitchell, Dr. Hosack, and others. It has published four volumes; the last of which comprised the second volume of Smith's history of New York, left by the author in manuscript. The New Hampshire Society, formed in 1822, has issued several volumes. In 1815, a Committee of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia was formed expressly for historical purposes. More recently a new Society has been established in Pennsylvania, at the head of which is Duponceau. In Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, these associations also exist already, and we see that movements are making in New Jersey for one of the same kind at this moment.

Some of the Legislatures also have shown a disposition to do something in the premises. Of this spirit a gratifying illustration is now before us. It appears from the introduction to this volume, that by virtue of a resolution of the Georgia Legisture, passed December 23, 1837, the Governor appointed the Rev. Mr. Howard an agent of the State, to repair to London, for the purpose of procuring the colonial records, or copies

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thereof, now in the colonial department of Great Britain, that relate to the history and settlement of their State. By the further liberality of the same body, the same papers, which are the result of his mission are placed in the Society's library, subject however to their future decision. These documents fill twenty-two large folio volumes, averaging over two hundred closely written pages each; fifteen of them being from the office of the Board of Trade, six from the State Paper Office, and one from the King's Library. This is a most liberal and substantial patronage, and does great honor to Georgia.

It is out of our power to examine all these collections in detail. The old pamphlets republished are invaluable. The new "Life of Oglethorpe" will be read with much interest. This we are told is by a gentleman venerable with age, but who still pursues the studies of literature with all the enthusiasm of youth, and the assiduity of the scholar. His residence is in the vicinity of the moss-covered trees of Frederica. These are the familiar scenes of his boyhood, linked in with those early associations, which are the last erased by time from the tablets of the memory; and with a heart venerating its great founder "Romulus of Georgia," he has prepared this tribute to his virtues and renown.

This Biography, though not very polished, is very rich. The material is such, that it could not be otherwise. And the same may be said of a large part of Georgian history. Though not what even we Americans call ancient, it is full of romance. The early situation of the settlers helped much to make it so. Their character and composition also were remarkable, and they were curiously gathered together. Witness the people of *Ebenezer*, just about one hundred years ago. We are told that many of these settlers were from Hernhutt, the singular religious establishment founded upon his estates by the yet more singular and eccentric Count Lindendorf, who was himself for a time banished from his country. From this place came Augustus Spangenburg, a man of learning, who had spent many years at the University of Jena, had been invited to Halle, from whence he retired to Hernhutt, and was finally sent out to Georgia, to regulate, as pastor, the Moravian establishment. "It was," says Judge Law, "of these people that Mr. Wesley, being present at one of their religious and solemn ordinations of a bishop, said, the great simplicity, as well as solemnity of the whole scene, almost made him forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine himself in one of those assemblies, where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman presided yet with the demonstration of the spirit and of power."

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Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, with an Introduction and occasional Observations upon the condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those Countries. By the Rev. HORATIO SOUTHGATE. New York: Appleton and Company. 1840.

THIS interesting work is the result of a mission, which was performed under the direction of the Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The route travelled was calculated to repay most richly the labors of so attentive a traveller as Mr. Southgate evidently was; and we agree with our contemporaries of the critical press, that these volumes are replete with both new and useful information. The introductory view of the "groundwork of Mohammedanism" is specially worthy of notice, and the translation of the Mussulman Catechism gives a very complete view of the Mohammedan religion. That there are errors in the work may be admitted without disparagement to its general and substantial merits; and yet we are bound to say, — for it is no cheap virtue in these times, — that the composition exhibits proofs of uncommon and conscientious care. The map and engravings add decidedly to its value.

We will not omit so good an opportunity, as that now before us, of saying a word on what appears to us the scientific and literary responsibility, so to speak, belonging to many of the Missionaries individually, if not to all of them as a class. We are inclined, on the whole, to take the latter view of the matter. We should say, something ought to be expected from these persons, in all cases, in the capacity of *mere travellers*, over and above the immediate and explicit business they have in charge. This, of course, we would not have them neglect. Let the utmost fidelity be exercised in full discharge of them. But still, there must remain great opportunities of observation and record; the greater, perhaps, as their activity in their religious province increases.

Mr. Malcolm never was charged with neglecting his mission, and for this same good reason, that *besides* attending to its duties, and while fulfilling them, and for the very purpose of being better enabled in many cases to do so, he was at the same time, and all the time, keeping his eyes and ears wide open to the world at large around him, and storing his note-book, and his memory, and whole mind still more with treasures of knowledge and rich themes of thought. Yet Mr. Malcolm's work, though not faultless, is a most honorable specimen of what we

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should call missionary literature; and it is more than an honor both to him and the fraternity. It is a precedent, an argument, a conclusive proof, or rather, we should say, it is one among many, for we must not allow it too high a relative importance, good as it is. It does not stand alone. Out of their own works the missionaries stand convicted of what they might do at least in every quarter.

The Rev. Mr. Paxton's work on the Holy Land, issued lately at Lexington, Kentucky, is another instance in point; and so last season was the Narrative furnished by the Rev. Mr. Parker of his Tour to the Rocky Mountains, and his wanderings among the Indians beyond them. These, again, we name merely as illustrations, late and good ones, of what we mean. Many more of the same class, if not of equal merit, might be mentioned; particularly if the British publications be included in the list. We allude now to such as are adapted to popular use. There is still more considerable store of useful data collected by the same laborers, out of the same fields, and from all portions of the earth's surface, which we fear is comparatively locked up from the common mind, and even from the most scientific enquirers, by being rudely put together, or mingled with other matters, which interest the community at large but slightly, and which they have not leisure or inclination to dig out from these quarries. The "Missionary Herald," of which there are now forty volumes we believe, is such a depository. We know few works of this kind, which contain more valuable records of travel than this; but its circulation, though extensive we suppose, is almost exclusively confined to that part of the community, who value it chiefly, it must be presumed, as an official record of the progress of a great religious cause, which deeply enlists their sympathies, and which, by their pecuniary offerings, they continually sustain. On the whole, a small part of what might be done by missionaries *is* done, we must take the liberty to say, for the interests of general science and popular information; and, perhaps, a still smaller proportion of this is ever wrought over, and brought forward in such a manner as it must be, on common sense principles, in order to *tell*. But we will not urge the subject, though an important one, farther at present. We hope better things hereafter; and gladly conclude with admitting, that the prospect was never so promising as now.

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Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. Vols. 7, 8, and 9. *Containing German Literature, from the German of Wolfgang Menzel.* By C. C. Felton. Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1840.

We have been desirous to salute this publication as early as possible, because of the high opinion we entertain of the ability of the Translator; and from the strong impression we received two or three years ago, that the original work, if it could ever come to a translation among us, would be of use in satisfying a great deal of intelligent curiosity, and disabusing many excellent minds of an exaggerated estimate of what had been too highly commended, or was but vaguely understood. We do salute it accordingly. But we are not yet ready to make such a report of it as it deserves. Three closely printed volumes of pretty hard reading are not to be despatched hastily. And we are moreover compelled to say, that it sounds more strange in our English speech than we were prepared to hear. Mr. Menzel's book appears, on further examination, to be too singular a performance, — too bright with guiding or bewildering lights in some places, while it remains most oracularly dark in others; too important both as instruction and warning; too much crowded with excellent and exceptionable things, — to allow of our saying what we think of it in few words. We hope to offer some description of it at another time. At present, we will content ourselves to do little more than say, that we feel highly indebted to Professor Felton for the able and satisfactory manner in which he has given to our craving public, within so moderate a compass, the means of judging of the merits of that immense pretension, which was set up for the profoundness of German thought about twenty years ago, and has lately arrived at its height.

The translation is throughout accurate to a letter. The great labor of it, — and great the labor must have been, — we think most usefully bestowed; for its appearance in our community at this time is specially valuable. It is well worth studying by those, who wish to follow out, in such English as the case admits, the mazes of a foreign and labyrinthine track of the human mind.

The original work, though addressed to Germans, (and describing nothing more easily intelligible than the Germans,) abounds with beauties, that belong to no nationality. It exposes, with a keen and playful wit, many of the follies that are just at this moment peculiarly active among ourselves. It invites, some-

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times without intending it, a severe examination of much imposing show of wisdom, that has come upon us from the cloud-land of Saxony and Prussia, in the shape of a moon-lit mist. Here is German philosophy, by an admiring German, accessible to every patient English reader. It does not come through the superficial abstracts of Madame de Staël; nor the elegant modifications of M. Cousin; nor the pompous pedantries of Mr. Coleridge, who has always seemed to us, by the way, if we may speak out our honest thought, no little of a charlatan. His effigy might be represented with tolerable completeness by a very large mouth, set very wide open, and uttering, as from over a tripod, borrowed inpirations and sonorous conceits.

Here we have Herr Menzel himself, — a veteran writer, and on all accounts entitled to be heard, — with a book most various, sprightly, and comprehensive; touching with a free and bold eloquence upon every point in the circle of what his countrymen have been doing for science and letters. He pronounces with sharp good sense many judgments, that will not be much relished by a goodly number among us, who are easily carried away with admiration of new lights and strange movements. But, on the other hand, he will repay them with many extravagances beyond their present conception, to which they shall be most heartily welcome.

Draw nigh, gentle readers, of every class. Take up this pithy book, and do as we are doing, — read it. There is much to be seen, and not to be seen, in this direction.

A German-English and English-German Pocket Dictionary; denoting the Meaning of all the Words in General Use, and likewise of the principal Idiomatic Phrases. By David Fosdick, Jr. 16mo. Boston: Perkins and Marvin. 1840.

Twenty years ago, if a man had enterprise enough to essay the study of the German tongue, he was glad to find a Dictionary of any sort; but as the study has become general, we have grown a little more fastidious in this respect. Mr. Fosdick has prepared his work with a view to this state of things, and made it, we think, an improvement as regards convenience, completeness, and accuracy on all other dictionaries of the same size, which have come under our notice. This is owing partly to the fact, that being the last he has been able to avail himself of the suggestions of those who went before, and to profit by their errors and mistakes; and partly to his own proficiency and

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experience, as one of the best and most successful translators of German works. Among other things, not usually met with in Pocket Dictionaries, he has given in all cases the genitive singular and nominative plural of the German substantives, and appended distinct tables of the irregular verbs and proper names in both languages.

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1. *Chartism.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Boston: Little & Brown. 1840. 12mo. pp. 113.
2. *The Laboring Classes, an Article from the Boston Quarterly Review.* By O. A. BROWNSON. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 1840.

ONE would think that by this time Mr. Carlyle had played his antic tricks with the English language long enough to have satisfied even himself, and was now ready to return to the manner of his early days, when all delighted to do him honor. But it seems not. Here is another book absurd as any that has gone before, and more unreadable. On so serious a subject as that presented by the poor and laboring classes in England and Ireland, we should have supposed that a man of any true sensibility would have laid aside for a time his fopperies, and spoken with the simplicty and earnestness that became the topic. Yet perhaps no previous effusion of this writer is quite so despicable for the most frivolous affectations as Chartism, rendered more offensive in the present instance, as we have hinted already, by their connexion with questions which concern the vital interests of humanity. We cannot conceive of the writer of such stuff looking it afterward in the face, as it came from the press, without a blush of shame. A merry-andrew dancing on a coffin does not offer a more shocking incongruity.

Many things in Mr. Carlyle's former writings would lead us to think that, while too often carried away by the love of making a sensation, he was yet in the main a man of sincerity, bent on some good end. But Chartism staggers our faith. It is hard to believe in the reality of earnestness and a high aim in one, who bestows so disproportionate attention not upon the matter in hand, but upon himself. Self, and the wondering gaze he shall draw from an astonished public, appear to be ever the chief matters in hand with him. So much more does his heart seem set on mere writing as a sort of juggler's art, on mere phraseology, on achieving some unprecedented amalgamations of words and phrases, than on saying anything clear, intelligi-

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ble, and to the purpose, that no book of the day can be found more wordy, diffuse, and irrelevant than the one before us, — that is, if we have been at all successful in seizing and following out his thoughts, about which we would not be presumptuous. It is a volume of tortured phraseology, of printed darkness, and little else. Imagine it placed by a bookseller on its first appearance in the hands of a minister of the Home Department, of a member of Parliament, of a philanthropist like Wilberforce, anxious for new light from any quarter on the hard questions it professes to discuss, and which might then be agitating the public mind, nay, shaking a kingdom to its centre; and with what indignation, as he puzzled himself over the swollen vanity, would he squir it from his window into the kennel, or consign it to the flames. Let Mr. Carlyle, the Romance writer, when he evolves his Sartors and Diamond Necklaces, be wayward as he will, let him dress up his ideas in literary swaddling clothes of every imaginable hue, let him don his party-colored coat, mount his cap and bells, and with every variety of grimace amuse, astonish, or befool such as may try to read, and we should be tempted to let the show proceed without a word of remonstrance; nay, as in the case of Professor Teufelsdröckh, we might heartily applaud the successful harlequin. But when this ludicrous exhibition is brought upon what may justly be regarded as holier ground, when it thrusts itself in where the great rights of humanity are discussed, diverting the attention from the gravest themes by the most offensive displays of personal vanity, we think that common people, those not by nature transcendentally strung, may be pardoned if they raise an objection. We do object accordingly. We took up his book for information, but found little else than a fresh theatrical parading of the author.

The records of literature, of English literature at least, furnish, we suppose, no example, in their whole extent, of so bold and long continued an experiment on the public taste, as this of Mr. Carlyle. That the public, in one considerable portion of it, should have contributed to the partial success of the experiment, or rather have caused such success and rejoiced in it, is certainly on every account, in our judgment, to be regretted. We can discern no new grace imparted to our language, nor any added power, in the lucubrations of any of the crowd of disciples, who have approached nearest to the sublime absurdity of the Master, but everywhere the contrary. Lessons of affectation, which need never to be taught, are the only ones which appear to have been learned. Wherever the influence of Carlyle as a writer is to be detected, it is, we think, only in

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some oddities and effeminacies of speech, by which the writings of his admirers and followers are deformed. Their own mother English, though never so homely, were a better dialect. Not that there are "unities" in respect to style to be superstitiously observed; not that style must be run in one and the same mould; not that Carlyle must write like Macaulay, or both like Jeffrey. But that neither should write like a fool; — neither make of his style merely or chiefly a medium of his vanity, a stalking-horse on which to play fantastic tricks before the world. Diversity and variety are greatly to be desired. Let style like costume continually take new forms and fashions. But let it not degenerate into ridiculous affectation, or preposterous oddity. A fop is always despicable, whether in letters or dress. And he is so because vanity, seeking notoriety by the very smallest arts, is his central idea. As we judge, Mr. Carlyle and some of his imitators come under this category. It is not philosophy, new or striking thought, that constitutes the peculiarity by which he and they are distinguished from others, but, solely or chiefly, eccentric and affected speech — a modern Euphuism, a refined literary dandyism. The unhappy effect of this has been greatly to diminish, with many utterly to annihilate their power as moral and religious writers. The splendid genius of Carlyle may win, nay, it compels admiration; but he does not secure respect. To affectation of any kind — a sort of falsehood — we can never accord what we mean by that word. It is reserved for simplicity and truth.

That we have done Mr. Carlyle no injustice in describing the present work as equally grotesque with any that has gone before it, will appear from a few quotations. We would offer an analysis of the volume, but we frankly acknowledge our incompetency to the task. And what class of readers the author can have had in his mind, as those who were to read and profit by his book, we cannot conjecture. The class of practical politicians and statesmen, we think, would turn from it instinctively, as from the effusions of a brain-sick dreamer. As for the Chartists themselves, they might as well essay Chinese. It will be read and relished, we imagine, only by his wholesale admirers, — besides them by a few fastidious Litterateurs who live on excitement, and whose appetite, like that of the sensualist, must be fired by some pungent dainty or they starve.

Here are the heads of the Chapters, — a fair sample of the rest of the book. "Condition-of-England Question. Statistics. New Poor Law. Finest Peasantry in the World. Rights and Mights. Laissez Faire. Not Laissez Faire. New Eras. Parliamentary Radicalism. Impossible."

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Take another specimen from the Chapter on the New Poor Law.

"To believe practically that the poor and luckless are here only as a nuisance to be abraded and abated, and in some permissible manner made away with, and swept out of sight, is not an amiable faith. That the arrangements of good and ill success in this perplexed scramble of a world, which a blind goddess was always thought to preside over, are in fact the work of a seeing goddess or god, and require only not to be meddled with: what stretch of heroic faculty or inspiration of genius was needed to teach one that? To button your pockets and stand still, is no complex recipe. *Laissez faire, laissez passer!* Whatever goes on, ought it not to go on; 'the widow picking nettles for her children's dinner, and the perfumed seigneur delicately lounging in the Œil-du-Bœuf, who has an alchemy whereby he will extract from her the third nettle, and name it rent and law?' What is written and enacted, has it not black-on-white to show for itself? Justice is justice; but all attorney's parchment is of the nature of Targum or sacred-parchment. In brief, ours is a world requiring only to be well let alone. Scramble along, thou insane scramble of a world, with thy pope's tiaras, king's mantles and beggar's gabardines, chivalry-ribbons and plebeian gallows-ropes, where a Paul shall die on the gibbet and a Nero sit fiddling as imperial Cæsar: *thou* art all right, and shalt scramble even so; and whoever in the press is trodden down, has only to lie there and be trampled broad:—Such at bottom seems to be the chief social principle, if principle it have, which the Poor-Law Amendment Act has the merit of courageously asserting, in opposition to many things."—pp. 18, 19.

What a burlesque upon eloquence is this which follows; yet we rather think this passage would be regarded as the gem of the volume.

"It is in Glasgow among that class of operatives that 'Number 60,' in his dark room, pays down the price of blood. Be it with reason or with unreason, too surely they do in verity find the time all out of joint; this world for them no home, but a dingy prison-house, of reckless unthrift, rebellion, rancor, indignation against themselves and against all men. Is it a green flowery world, with azure everlasting sky stretched over it, the work and government of a God; or a murky-simmering Tophet, of copperas-fumes, cotton-fuz, gin-riot, wrath and toil created by a Demon, governed by a Demon? The sum of their wretchedness merited and unmerited welters, huge, dark, and baleful, like a Dantean Hell, visible there in the statistics of Gin: Gin justly named the most authentic incarnation of the Infernal Principle in our times, too indisputable an incarnation: Gin the black throat into which wretchedness of every sort, consummating itself by calling on delirium to help it whirls down; abdication of the power to think or resolve, as too painful now, on the part of men whose lot of all others would require thought and resolution; liquid Madness sold at ten-pence the quartern, all

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the products of which are and must be, like its origin, mad, miserable, ruinous, and that only! If from this black unluminous unheeded *Inferno*, and Prisonhouse of souls in pain, there do flash up from time to time some dismal wide-spread glare of Chartism or the like, notable to all, claiming remedy from all, — are we to regard it as more baleful than the quiet state, or rather as not so baleful? Ireland is in chronic atrophy these five centuries; the disease of nobler England, identified now with that of Ireland, becomes acute, has crises, and will be cured or kill." — pp. 34, 35.

Once more.

"Accidental all these things and persons look, unexpected every one of them to man. Yet inevitable every one of them; foreseen, not unexpected, by Supreme Power; prepared, appointed from afar. Advancing always through all centuries, in the middle of the eighteenth they *arrived*. The Saxon kindred burst forth iuto cotton-spinning, cloth-dropping, iron forging, steamengining, railwaying, commercing and careering towards all the winds of heaven, — in this enexplicable noisy manner; the noise of which, in Power-mills, in progress-of-the-species Magazines, still deafens us somewhat. Most noisy, sudden! The Staffordshire coal-stratum, and coal-strata, lay side by side with iron-strata, quiet since the creation of the world. Water flowed in Lancashire and Lanarkshire; bituminous fire lay bedded in rocks there too, — over which how many fighting Stanleys, black Douglases, and other the like contentious persons, had fought out their bickerings and broils, not without result, we will hope! But God said, Let the iron missionaries be; and they were. Coal and iron, so long close unregardful neighbors, are wedded together; Birmingham and Wolverhampton, and the hundred Stygian forges, with their fire-throats and never-resting sledge-hammers, rose into day. Wet Manconium stretched out her hand towards Carolina and the torrid zone, and plucked cotton there: who could forbid her, her that had the skill to weave it? Fish fled thereupon from the Mersey River, vexed with innumerable keels. England, I say, dug out her bitumen-fire, and bade it work: towns rose, and steeple chimneys; — Chartisms also, and Parliaments they name Reformed." — pp. 87, 88.

And so on through the volume. — We should not have said these things of a man less great than Mr. Carlyle. But when monarchs play the clown plebeians may play the rebel.

A far more pregnant chapter on this same subject of Chartism is to be found in the essay of Mr. Brownson, named at the head of our Article, and which has been reprinted from the Boston Quarterly. This is a tract as much superior to Mr. Carlyle's in the manliness and energy of its English, as it is more startling in its doctrines. To give the reader some idea of its character and drift we offer a brief abstract. Comparing together, at the close of his introduction, the mischief and danger to be apprehended from monarchy and nobility, with those which may be feared from the middle classes, Mr. Brownson

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thinks that the laborer has much more to apprehend from the latter. These he looks upon as the real tyrants of the operative. "The only enemy of the laborer is your employer, whether appearing in the shape of a Master Mechanic or in the owner of a factory. A Duke of Wellington is much more likely to vindicate the rights of labor than an Abbot Lawrence." The remedies proposed for the relief of the working-men by Mr Carlyle, universal education, and emigration, Mr. Brownson considers wholly inadequate. He sees a remedy equal to the evil only in revolutionary movements of the poor, darkly foreboded in such language as the following:

"No one can observe the signs of the times with much care, without perceiving that a crisis as to the relation of wealth and labor is approaching. It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact, and like the ostrich fancy ourselves secure because we have so concealed our heads that we see not the danger. We or our children will have to meet this crisis. The old war between the King and the Barons is well nigh ended, and so is that between the Barons and the Merchants and Manufacturers, — landed capital and commercial capital. The business man has become the peer of my Lord. And now commences the new struggle between the operative and his employer, between wealth and labor. Every day does this struggle extend further and wax stronger and fiercer; what or when the end will be God only knows.

"In this coming contest there is a deeper question at issue than is commonly imagined; a question which is but remotely touched in your controversies about United States Banks and Sub Treasuries, chartered Banking and free Banking, free trade and corporations, although these controversies may be paving the way for it to come up. We have discovered no presentiment of it in any king's or queen's speech, nor in any president's message. It is embraced in no popular political creed of the day, whether christened Whig or Tory, *Juste-milieu* or Democratic. No popular senator, or deputy, or peer seems to have any glimpse of it; but it is working in the hearts of the million, is struggling to shape itself, and one day it will be uttered, and in thunder tones. Well will it be for him, who, on that day, shall be found ready to answer it." — pp. 9, 10.

Mr. Brownson then paints at length the oppressed condition of the laborer — both freeman and slave — giving, however, a preference to the state of the slave over the free laborer, as on the whole one of less oppression. How, he next inquires, is the laborer to be emancipated? Not by any moral or religious reform of the individual. Not by any processes of "self-culture." The evil under consideration is a social evil, and can be removed only by social changes. As the grand cause of the depression and poverty of the laboring classes is to be found not in any arrangements of Providence, but in institutions of man's

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devising, the remedy, Mr. Brownson contends, is to be sought in destroying such institutions. Of these the Church stands first for its tyrannic and enslaving power, and must be annihilated — not religion, not Christianity, these Mr. Brownson would honor and protect — but the Church and the Priesthood, of every name over the earth. This assault upon the Church constitutes the main body of the essay. The Church being out of the way, the next remedy is to be found in the right exercise — not in the overthrow — but in a right exercise of the powers of civil government. But what shall it do? It must first un-do. It must begin by circumscribing and limiting its own powers. It must then by direct legislation, by repealing and enacting, protect the laboring classes against the others. In regard, specially to this country, it must break down the power of capital, by sweeping from the face of the land the whole system of Banking. But that is only a beginning. Then must follow the destruction of all monopoly and of all PRIVILEGE. We have done little for liberty and equality by abolishing hereditary monarchy and hereditary nobility, if we do not add the abolishing of hereditary property. We give Mr. Brownson's own words.

"Following the destruction of the Banks, must come that of all monopolies, of all PRIVILEGE. There are many of these. We cannot specify them all; we therefore select only one, the greatest of them all, the privilege which some have of being born rich while others are born poor. It will be seen at once that we alluded to the hereditary descent of property, an anomaly in our American system, which must be removed, or the system itself will be destroyed. We cannot now go into a discussion of this subject, but we promise to resume it at our earliest opportunity. We only say now, that as we have abolished hereditary monarchy and hereditary nobility, we must complete the work by abolishing hereditary property. A man shall have all he honestly acquires, so long as he himself belongs to the world in which he acquires it. But his power over his property must cease with his life, and his property must then become the property of the state, to be disposed of by some equitable law for the use of the generation which takes his place. Here is the principle without any of its details, and this is the grand legislative measure to which we look forward. We see no means of elevating the laboring classes which can be effectual without this. And is this a measure to be easily carried? Not at all. It will cost infinitely more than it cost to abolish either hereditary monarchy or hereditary nobility. It is a great measure, and a startling. The rich, the business community, will never voluntarily consent to it; and we think we know too much of human nature to believe that it will ever be effected peaceably. It will be effected only by the strong arm of physical force. It will come, if it ever come at all, only at the conclusion of war, the like of which the world as yet has never witnessed, and from which, however inevitable it may seem to the eye of philosophy, the heart of Humanity recoils with horror." — p. 24.

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This is violent and threatening language. Doctrines more necessarily dependent for their reception and prevalence upon civil commotion and tumult were never, we suppose, in Revolutionary France, proclaimed by the leaders in that sanguinary social war. Had they been uttered with the same eloquence and power then and there, they would have sounded a peal that would have been answered by the guillotine in every street and square of Paris. Uttered now and here, and they fall harmless as the declamations of a school-boy, repudiated by the very classes, we doubt not, whom they are designed to move. But as we do not imagine that at present Mr. Brownson himself intends action, but merely discussion of great principles as preliminary to action at some future time, we cannot but think that a tone of greater moderation would have obtained for him a more respectful hearing, even from those most disposed to coincide with his views, — certainly from all others. Whether, however, such opinions are broached in one way or another, will matter very little as to their success. They are so opposite to the philosophy of common sense, that we can have no fears on that score.

Common sense will hold it to be rather a strange doctrine of Mr. Brownson, that inequality of wealth is to be traced not to appointments of Providence, or laws of nature, but to human interference. Were it as he states, then indeed a reform of the social order would bring a remedy. What legislation had done, legislation might undo. But if this inequality is founded in our nature, in a natural difference of the desire of property, and of capacity for acquiring it, then the evil, if it be an evil, is incurable; there will always be poor and rich in spite of any and all legal or constitutional provision. And who can doubt whether these differences are natural? Place two individuals in precisely the same favorable circumstances for acquiring property, and one will come out rich, the other poor; and that not in consequence of any laws of man, but in consequence of laws of God. And not until men are sent into the world with one intellect, one conscience, and one desire of property, will there be equality of outward condition, or any nearer approach to it than there is now. Let the wealth of the world be to-day seized and counted, and equally distributed among all the individuals of the race, and how plain is it that through superior sagacity, cunning, or power of some sort on the part of some, and a corresponding inferiority on the part of others, through the virtues of some and the vices of others, that wealth would to-morrow return, and flow again in the channels from which it had been withdrawn. No agrarianism will ever help the matter

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by depriving industry and capacity of their natural rewards. No human legislation can ever make those equal whom God has made to differ.

Mr. Brownson, as one means of equalizing human condition, asks at present only for a law which shall prohibit a man from bequeathing his property to whom he pleases, and shall distribute it in some manner through the community. But would he be long satisfied with so inadequate a provision? Why wait till the rich man's death for his hoarded wealth? It is not a question of time, but of unjust possession and retention on the one side, and of oppressive deprivation on the other. Let there be a law, which shall at eighty, seventy, or sixty years of age, relieve the rich man of his superfluous millions, or thousands, and portion them out among the poor. Nay — for it is a question of right, not surely of hours, days, or years — let it be that whenever a man by successful industry shall have accumulated up to a certain amount, the overplus shall go to the community. There is just as good ground, in the eye of reason, for one law as the other. — But the philosophical defect, which runs through Mr. Brownson's argument, and most vitiates the whole, is, it seems to us, the position he maintains, that wealth is the true basis of human and social happiness and well-being. Equalization of property, or the nearest possible approach to it, is held out as the sovereign panacea for the ills that flesh is heir to. We cannot but hold this to be a most fundamental error. We must think, and so we believe most will think too, that there would be a far better chance for human happiness by filling the heads and hearts of men with knowledge, virtue, and religion, than by filling their pockets with money. Wealth is a good thing, but not the best thing. It is a stone in the foundation of human happiness, but not the corner stone.

Principles of Political Economy. Part the Third: Of the Causes which retard Increase in the Numbers of Mankind. Part the Fourth: Of the Causes which retard Improvement in the Political Condition of Man. By H. C. Carey. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1840. 8vo. pp. 270

The First Part of this work, on the "The Laws of the Production and Distribution of Wealth," appeared in 1837; the Second, on "the Causes which retard Increase in the Production of Wealth, and Improvement in the Physical and Moral Condition of Man," in 1838; the two last, under the title given above, have just come from the press. The three volumes

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evince extensive research, and embody a vast accumulation of facts. Moreover, as in connexion with his own, he gives at length the speculations of the other leading political economists, on all the great questions which come up, they are peculiarly fitted to make general readers acquainted with the history and present state of the science. The work is now complete, and will soon receive, we doubt not, the full and discriminating notice it deserves from the Journals to which the discussion of such topics belongs. What will particularly interest Christians and philanthropists is the refutation it contains of the gloomy theories of Malthus, and its earnest advocacy of the doctrine, that nothing but industry, justice, liberty, and peace is necessary to the physical, moral, and political advancement of the race. Political Economy, according to Mr. Carey, is nothing but the carrying out of the golden rule, "Do unto others, as ye would that others should do unto you."

The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, in a Series of Letters to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. By WILLIAM ADAM. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 279.

NATIONAL vanity is not less blind, perhaps, than personal. At any rate it is sometimes little less than stone-blind, as Mr. Adam has proved in the case of the English nation, by the revelations on the subject of Slavery in India, spread before the world in the present volume. Pleased with the eminence of her philanthropy in the emancipation of her West India slaves, and with the indignation she has felt and freely expressed toward the United States, for their continued tolerance of the institution within their free borders, without a single movement in the way even of prospective legislation, England has forgotten all but her glory. The faults of others on which she has gazed have grown to mountains, while her own, overshadowed and hidden by her intervening virtues, she has believed no longer to exist. In this pleasing delusion, Mr. Adam comes with his little volume of facts. and dissolves the enchantment; he holds up a faithful picture, as we doubt not it is, before her eyes, of that system of Hindoo Slavery, which is permitted and defended by British Laws, and calls upon her to do her duty here also, or cease to boast. The statements of his volume can hardly fail to make a deep sensation in England, for they are of a most astounding character; and coming from one of so calm and exact a mind, so thorough and cautious in his investigations, so candid in his judgments, so fair in his reasonings, they will fall

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with double weight upon the public ear, and compel an attention, which time-hardened vanity might have denied to a less authoritative voice.

The volume is in the form of letters addressed to Mr. Buxton, in the course of which he treats the whole subject of slavery in India; considering, first, the law of slavery; second, the custom or practice of slavery: and third, the means that have been, or may be employed for the mitigation of the evil, or for its entire abolition. The first letter, after an introduction, treats of the Hindoo law of slavery, the Mohammedan and the British law. We intend no discussion of any of the subjects of the volume, but merely to put the reader in possession of some of its facts, opinions, and results by a few extracts and abstracts.

Although in the judgment of Mr. Adam slavery is the *least of the evils tolerated or inflicted by the British Government of India*, yet it is great enough, he thinks, to require to be brought before the British public, that it may be known at home what is done abroad, "that all undue vaunting and exultation may be repressed, and the necessary impulse be given to the friends of humanity to complete the work they have only begun." We were not prepared by any knowledge we had on the subject for the extraordinary statements of the following paragraph; nor even in England, Mr. Adam gives us to understand, is it generally known, or known scarcely at all, to what an extent slavery prevails in her Eastern dominions.

"Is not the subject," Mr. Adam asks, "one that may well awaken the attention both of the government and of the people of England? The people of England have just paid twenty millions sterling to emancipate eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West Indies; and while they are congratulating themselves that now at length every British subject is a freeman, and insultingly reproaching republican America with her slavery, they are to be told that their congratulations are premature; that their reproaches may be retorted; that their work is only half done; that there are probably eight hundred thousand slaves more, British subjects, in the East Indies; that this slavery has been perpetuated and sometimes aggravated by the East India Company's government; and that there is no prospect of its ceasing, unless their powerful voice shall be put forth to demand its extinction. The government of England have been engaged for years in a hard-fought battle with slave-holders in the West Indies, and with the slave-holding interest in England, and they have just succeeded, at the expense of the people of England, in the great work of emancipation. They have been for years engaged in a diplomatic war, too unsuccessfully waged, with foreign powers against the slave-trade, and with praiseworthy energy and perseverance they are still adopting measures against this hydra-headed monster. Her Majesty's ministers are now to be told — (are they *now* to be told, or have they long known

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and neglected their duty in this matter?)—that one of the heads of this monster is in British India; that even the slave-trade has not wholly ceased there; that the laws enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain against the slave-trade are in part either expressly set aside, or are acknowledged to be wholly a dead letter; that slavery itself exists in British India; that it exists probably as extensively, and to a great extent in as aggravated a form, as it did lately in the West Indies; that it has been and is legalized, and nourished, and supported by the East India Company, a creature of their own forming; and that notwithstanding the express requisition of Parliament to that effect, no movement has been made by the East India Company's government towards its extinction. This is the bearing of the subject to which I am desirous of soliciting your attention; and will you, will the government and people of England, listen to the proofs of all this with patient acquiescence? Must it not be perceived that this is a state of things compromising the honor and consistency of the government, and the humanity and justice of the people of England, and invoking the prompt and indignant interference of every honest statesman and every good man?"—pp. 10-12.

The broad statements of this paragraph are abundantly sustained by the facts and minute details presented in the succeeding letters. A nation shown to be thus holding in bondage from eight hundred thousand to a million slaves should be moderate in the reproachful language flung at America; or rather, while they with perfect justice accuse us of our monstrous wrong-doing, they should confess themselves to be in the same condemnation. That they have not hitherto done so may be owing to ignorance of their own sins. Mr. Adam's book will now leave them without excuse, if they forbear to treat justly either themselves or us.

Mr. Adam goes on in the remainder of his first letter to define the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, and British law in relation to slavery. Under the Hindoo Law "the powers possessed by masters or owners over their slaves are *absolute*." "Hindoo Law," in the words of Mr. Colebrook, as quoted by Professor Adam, "treats the slave as the property of the master, familiarly speaking of this species of property in association with cattle, under the contemptuous designation of *bipeds* and *quadrupeds*. It makes no provision for the protection of the slave from the cruelty and ill treatment of an unfeeling master, nor defines the master's power over the person of his slave; neither prescribing distinct limits to that power, nor declaring it to extend to life and limb. It allows to the slave no right of property even in his own acquisition, except by the indulgence of his master. Under the Mohammedan Law it is not much better. Slaves labor under almost every species of civil disability; they cannot marry without the consent of their master; they cannot

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give evidence in civil cases; they cannot make a gift or sale nor inherit property. A person under this law may sell himself into slavery. The British law of slavery Mr. Adam states to be a *confirmation with modifications* of the Hindoo and Mohammedan Laws. "Slavery," he says in the conclusion of this letter, "not only exists in India, but it has been unnecessarily and wantonly perpetuated by a decision of the judges and resolutions of the Government, in avowed disregard of the plain letter of the law. The sanction of the British name and of the power and authority of the British government, professing to be a Christian government, has thus been unworthily given to the antiquated systems of slavery, originating in the barbarous and intolerant policy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan government; and this has been done in alleged conformity with the spirit of the rule, which secures to the natives of India the enjoyment of their own civil laws and usages, but in real opposition, not only to the letter, but even to the spirit of that wise, just, and humane principle."

The second letter is devoted to an examination of the legality of Hindoo and Mohammedan slavery under the British government in India. The third contains a list of cases, showing what the actual administration of Hindoo and Mohammedan slave-law is in the courts of the British Indian government. These cases are highly interesting, and let the reader at once into the real condition of the slave population. We select one with the remarks of Mr. Adam.

"Q. 'A person procures a contract of marriage to be entered into between his slave and the daughter of a free person, and subsequently sells his slave's wife to another. In this case, has the master of the slave derived any right of proprietorship over the person of the slave's wife by reason of her being subject to his slave; and is the sale of such woman allowable by law?'

"This case also occured in 1819, in Chittagong; and the decision, according to Hindu law, is that a free woman, becoming the wife of a slave, becomes a slave to her husband's master, who has full power to alienate her by sale, and the sale is good and valid. This is another of those cases which, without the evidence before us, we should find it difficult to believe that the authority of the British government would be employed to enforce. A free woman, ignorant, most probably, of the law which affects such cases, is inveigled into marriage with a slave by a slave's master, who subsequently sells her for his own profit, and this sale is pronounced good and valid by the organ of Hindu law, and recognised as such by the British government and its judicial officers! Will the British people, when they know the fact, sanction it? Will not the indignation of the civilized world shame the British government into the abrogation of a law so cruel and disgraceful?" — pp. 57, 58.

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Letter fourth is on the ameliorations introduced by the British Government in India, in the law and practice of slavery. The author shows that "the evils of the institution have been distinctly and frequently acknowledged, and measures have been from time to time adopted, with greater or less success, to limit the extension, to mitigate the condition, and to put an end to the abuses of slavery." But notwithstanding all that has been done, more remains to be done, before England will have performed the tythe of her duty. "It must surely be admitted," says Professor Adam in the conclusion of this letter, "that if slavery is to continue in India, the state of the law relating to it which I have exhibited, abounding in inconsistences and contradictions, demands investigation, revision, and amendment."

The fifth letter is on the number of slaves in British India. After a careful examination of authorities in addition to his own personal knowledge, Mr. Adam presents us with the following table.

Silhet	80,000
Behar	22,722
Tirhoot	11,061
S. Mahratta country (British portion)	7,500
Arcot	20,000
Canara	80,000
Malabar	100,000
	321,283

But Mr. Adam concludes, "Upon the whole, I am of opinion that the very lowest estimate we can form of the total number of slaves, subjects of the British government in India, is five hundred thousand; and I deem it highly probable that a thorough and faithful census would show that the number does not fall short of ONE MILLION."—p. 128.

Letter sixth is on the origin and sources of slavery in British India. The seventh is on the treatment of agrestic and domestic slaves. We shall crowd together some of the most interesting particulars.

"In the Tamil country the agrestic slaves are entitled to a certain proportion of the harvest reaped on the land they cultivate, and to prescribed fees in grain at each stage of the previous cultivation, as well as at certain national festivals. Some of them who are outcastes possess also a right to all the cattle which die from disease; and they eat the flesh of such animals as well as that of snakes and other reptiles. In general their food is the coarsest grain; but if a judgment may be formed from their appearance, which is generally that of stout athletic men, it is not deficient either in quantity or quality." "In Malabar the permission to take other service than

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that of his master does not appear to be conceded to the slave, except for the master's profit. The creatures in human form who constitute the agrestic slave-population of that province are distinguishable, like the savage tribes still to be found in the forests of India, from the rest of the human race by their degraded, diminutive, squalid appearance; their dropsical pot-bellies contrasting horribly with their skeleton arms and legs, half-starved, hardly clothed, and in a condition scarcely superior to the cattle they follow at the plough." "In Canara, though not allowed to enter the house or to touch the persons of the free castes, they are permitted to approach them; and it is only early in the morning, after Brahmins have bathed, and before meals, that slaves are obliged to leave the road to avoid contaminating them. In Malabar, on the contrary, a slave must not approach any of the free castes nearer than a distance of ninety-six steps, and if he wishes to speak to any of them he must stand at that distance and cry aloud to them." "The lash is never employed by the master against his slave in the Tamil country." "By the ancient laws of Malabar a proprietor is accountable to no persons for the life of his own slave, but is the legal judge of his offences, and may punish them by death. At the present day all slaves are under the nominal protection of the law. Masters cannot take their lives without incurring the penalty of murder. They are also perfectly competent witnesses in all cases, civil or criminal, whether against freemen or others; and yet the evidence is strong that the law, in its actual administration, does not extend its shield over them." "The usual modes of punishment are flogging, putting in the stocks, and working them in chains. Formerly the practice prevailed of cutting off the noses of the slaves; and although this is now illegal, the practice has not wholly ceased. Mr. Baber tried a case in which it was proved that four slaves, belonging to the same owner, had had their noses amputated, and that although the case had come before the magistrate, no steps had been taken to bring the perpetrators of such horrid barbarities to justice." "Slaves are thus practically at the mercy of their masters, and beyond the pale of the law. 'There is hardly,' says Mr. Baber, 'a sessions of gaol delivery, the calendars of which (*though a vast number of crimes are occurring which are never reported*) do not contain cases of wounding and even murdering slaves, chiefly brought to light by the efforts of the police, though generally speaking they are the most enduring, unresisting, and unoffending classes of the people.'" "Slavery in the Dekhan, according to Chaplin's official report, is very prevalent, and we know that it has been recognised by the Hindu law, and by the custom of the country, from time immemorial. It is, however, a very mild and mitigated servitude, rather than an absolute slavery, and it differs essentially in many particulars from the foreign slave-trade, which, to the honor of humanity and of the British character, (though with little effect towards diminishing the extent of the evil,) has been discontinued by British subjects. Slaves are treated by the Hindus with great indulgence, and if they conduct themselves well, are considered rather as hereditary servants of the family than as menials. They become domesticated in the houses of the upper classes, who treat them with affection, and allow them to intermarry with the fe-

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male slaves; and the offspring of this connexion, though deemed base-born, if males, are often considered free, but if females, they remain slaves. Marriage, however, is equivalent almost to emancipation, because, when married, slaves become rather an incumbrance to their owners." "The master could chastise his slave with moderation, but if death ensued from his severity, he was punished severely by fine or otherwise, according to the pleasure of the government. A master could sell his slave, but in the upper classes it was not considered respectable to do so." Mr. Adam says, "I do not mean to call in question the general accuracy of Mr. Chaplin's representation of domestic slavery in the Dekhan, but his account implies facts which tend very essentially to qualify the mitigated character which he has ascribed to it." "Under the Madras presidency nearly all the domestic slaves are Muhammadans, and they are confined principally, although not exclusively, to Muhammadan families." "The Muhammadan law is entirely opposed to the purchase of free children for the purpose of reducing them to a state of bondage; yet in practice, compacts such as are described above confer permanent rights on the Muhammadan purchaser, for under the spirit of proselytism which charaterizes the Muhammadan faith, a male infant is no sooner purchased than it is circumcised, and whether male or female it is invariably brought up in the Muhammadan creed, which, if it be a Hindu, (as is usually the case,) irrevocably excludes it from all return to its parents or relations. The slaves are thus at once amalgamated with the family itself, who treat the males indulgently with somewhat of that privileged familiarity allowed in all countries to those who are permanently attached to a family, and are rather its humble members by adoption than its servants or slaves. They are well fed, well clothed, and employed in domestic offices common, except in families of the highest rank, to many of their master's relatives. The free communication with others, and facility of access to the British tribunals, which the want of all restraint over egress from the house ensures to the male domestic slaves, combine with the indulgent treatment of their masters to qualify their bondage so as nearly to exclude it from what the term slavery implies.

"Such, however, is not the lot of the female domestic slaves, employed as attendants on the seraglios of Musalmans of rank; they are too often treated with caprice, and frequently punished with much cruelty. Once admitted into the harem, they are considered part of that establishment, which it is the point of honor of a Musalman to seclude from all communication with others. Mr. Campbell, from whom most of these statements respecting domestic slavery in the Madras territory are derived, states that the complaints made to him, as superintendent of police at Madras, against the nabob of Arcot, and subsequently, when magistrate of Bellary, against the brother of the nabob of Kurnool, gave him an insight into transactions committed in the recesses of the female apartments of these two personages, which has left on his mind a strong impression of the cruelty and wanton barbarity with which this class of female slaves are subject to be treated. The murder of more than one female slave alleged to have been committed by the brother of the nabob of Kurnool, induced Mr. Campbell repeatedly to address the Madras government;

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nor was it until he added to them the murder of his own wife, that he was confined as a state prisoner, instead of being brought to trial for his life, as Mr. C. suggested. Indeed, little doubt can be entertained that the seclusion of female slaves in the harems of Musalmans of rank too often precludes complaint, prevents redress, and cloaks crimes at which Europeans would shudder." — p. 168, et seqq.

From the statements of the whole chapter, we should infer that slavery in the East, among both Mohammedans and Hindoos, assumes a much milder form than it ever does among Christians, even the enlightened Christians of our own land of equal rights.

The topic of the last letter is "Unsuccessful attempts to ameliorate the law and practice of slavery in British India, — Abolition of slavery." An Appendix closes the volume. We have room, in conclusion, only to express our hope, that the volume, which Mr. Adam has prepared with so much labor, will be extensively circulated and read. It concerns the English more than us, it is true, but it concerns us also. We wish him all manner of success in the prosecution of the benevolent purposes which have prompted him to this work.

Esther, a Sacred Drama: with Judith, a Poem. By Mrs. E. L. Cushing. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 1840. 12mo. pp. 118.

The success of the author of Esther and Judith has been considerable, where from the nature of the case failure seems almost inevitable, and any success a proof of no common powers. No attempt in literature strikes us as so hazardous, as to clothe in verse, blank, or rhymed, the events of Scripture history. What genius can hope to add anything to the native picturesqueness, of both the language and incidents, of the Old Testament narratives. A tale, drama, or poem founded upon some tradition, or invention, into which Scripture characters of any chosen period should be introduced, and Scripture history and events alluded to, illustrated, or partially used, would seem at once to afford a freer scope to the imagination, and be exempt from those disheartening comparisons, suggested by adopting the other course. It would possess its most important advantages, and be relieved from most of its difficulties — or impossibilities rather. The poems of Mrs. Cushing — comparison with the Books of Esther and Judith being set aside — afford great pleasure in the reading. We have found in them beautiful poetry, elevated thought, affecting sentiment. They are never chargeable with the stiff and wordy pomp of Mrs. More's Sacred Dramas. The language is of a simpler and

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more natural cast, yet graceful and expressive. We could fill many pages, and we wish we had them to spare, with verses moving and sweet as these, being a part of Esther's reply to the urgent importunities of Mordecai to offer herself a candidate for the favors of Ahasuerus, and the throne of Persia.

"*Esther.* Alas! my father, think upon my youth,
My gentle sex, my humble, quiet life,
Reared amid birds, and flowers, and loving hearts,
From which mine drank, as from a gushing fount,
Full draughts of bliss. From dawning infancy,
Where'er I turned, fond eyes met mine with smiles,
Kind arms upheld, and gentle voices blessed, —
While like a clinging vine I closer twined,
And threw my tendrils forth, seeking support,
And basking in the ever radiant glow,
That like a sunbeam pure affection wore.
For such a lowly cherished one as this,
The task thou nam'st is all too vast and high.
It asks a mighty hand, a lofty soul,
Stern and experienced, wise in council,
Armed at all points with courage and resolve,
A fitting instrument for heaven's high will.

* * * * * *

"*Esther.* I praise Him ever, when the rising morn
Sends light and beauty through the wakening earth,
And when the evening dews gently distil,
And the fair moon with all her host of stars
Come forth to keep their silent watch above.
And, dearest father, 'mid the temple's pomp
My prayers and thankful songs ascend to Him.
But in the quiet of my own dear home,
My purest offerings on his altar rest, —
For there my cup o'erflows, and my full heart
Pours forth its grateful tribute for the love
Which in a thousand forms blesses my life,
And crowns each day with joy. Each day, till this, —
When thou wilt force me from thy arms away,
And change my bliss to wo!" — pp. 24, 25.

Erratum. In the foot-note to p. 315 of the last volume, Article, Strauss's Life of Jesus, — for "Rosencrantz," read "Bruno Bauer."

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

NOVEMBER, 1840.

ART. I.—1. *Adam in Paradise; a Sermon by* ROBERT SOUTH, D. D., *with an Analysis and Preface by* BASIL MONTAGUE, *Esq.* London. 1840.

2. *Twelve Sermons by* ROBERT SOUTH, D. D. In 2 vols. London. 1692.

THE bold assumptions of the Oxford Tracts have drawn the attention of the English Theologians more fully to their early divines. The Protestant establishment looks back with interest to know whether its founders were almost Papists. The Homilies have been consulted more in the last five years than in the preceding fifty, and the sentiments of the early fathers have been the source of a controversy, more vivid than any since that which twice drove Athanasius from the Episcopal throne. We believe that the same elements, which were hen at work, are now in motion. When the Legate, who conducted the controversy which was meant to give a gloss to Henry the Fourth's intended conversion, told one of his Protestant brethren, that the whole matter in issue could be summed up in one word, "*crede*," the Calvinist answered, that his faith also could be brought to a point, and that was "*proba*." There have been in the Church, as there have been in the council, two continual counteracting forces; — the one driving all things to the centre, — the other to expansion; the one tending to bring back the energies of the human race to the point from which they first arose; and the other to give them fuller scope, and force them farther on, in the track of advancement. Such do we believe to be the character of the contest now raging in the bosom of the

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Anglican Church. It has been reformed too much to suit the more conservative of its clergy; too little for the more rational. We can imagine among the latter a class of men, who sincerely love the liturgy and the articles of the establishment, who prefer its constitution to that of any of the dissenting persuasions, and who therefore conscientiously subscribe to its forms; but who, when they have been admitted within the fold, would divest it of its useless trappings, and reduce its dimensions to a degree suitable to its plan and objects. But, on the other side, the favorers of old things because they are old, the maintainers of the divine right of kings, the relics of the non-jurors, the conforming among the Jesuits, are necessarily collected in the Church of England. Such a party naturally looks upon itself as the barrier by which the spirit of the times is to be stemmed; while its opponents consider themselves as the locks and aqueducts by which it is to be conducted. The one stands on the road side throwing its awful imprecations on the approaching army, the other marches in its headmost ranks, shriving them and cheering them in their progress. Oxfordism and Puseyism can never conquer in this age. Had they stopped the Penny Magazine before it dropped into the peasant's cottage, or expurgated the Bible before it illuminated the peasant's mind, they might have continued in the place of the light of which this century is witness, the gloom and superstition of five centuries ago; *now* we do not fear their efforts. The Pope can never bring his battery to bear against English faith. It is too bravely garrisoned and too honestly watched, to yield either to his bulls or his baits. But the dust which the battle is raising, and the uproar which it creates in the libraries of its champions, will succeed in raising up and bringing into note the good old Theology of the Reformation, which the one side so boldly claimed, and the other so weakly yielded. We are glad to see the Protestants in the Church of England parry the Oxford tracts with the Homilies. Old George Herbert is full as good a poet as Keble, and much sweeter, and we are proud to see him sailing before the public in the plumage of a new edition, looking as green and as young, as if he had just issued from his river-side parsonage. And for richness of eloquence and grandeur of thought, the subtle casuists of the Oxford school grow pale before the weather-beaten worthies of the Reformation. We know no illustration so strong of the necessity of a consistent whirl in the Theological stream to keep it from stagnation, as the fact, that Cud-

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worth and Chillingworth were safely moored on high ground, out of the way of use or alliance, till they were lately dragged down to be marshalled against the new armada. Chillingworth will always remain the great champion of the Protestant faith, the triumphant vindicator of its doctrines; but his triumphant vindication and his fierce invective were naturally distasteful to a class of men, who were unwilling to be convinced away from their most darling opinions. So he was admired, and printed in a colossal edition, which the poor man could not buy, and the child could not hold, and at length was fairly perched, like the statue of St. Mark at Naples, on a pillar so high, that it could never be told by the vulgar eye, whether he was a Saint or a Saracen. To the enlightened spirit, which has been manifested by the reforming portion of the Church of England, do we owe the resuscitation which has been undergone by Cudworth, as well as by his great companion; — for they will always rank together as the defenders, the one of Christianity as it was before it was corrupted, the other of Christianity as it ought to be after it is reformed.

Oxfordism, however, has not been willing that the vantage ground shall be seized by its opponents. Its priests have ransacked the arsenal for armor of their own capacity. Modestly declining to notice the first Protestant writers, under the plea, that till the new doctrines had ceased to oscillate, their true bearings could not be known; — they passed with a bow by the martyrs of Mary and the prelates of Elizabeth; they turned with a frown from the elders and prophets of the Protectorate, and settled finally on the era, when the English Church had been glutted with the spoils of a sudden victory. It is rather odd, by the way, that the church which refused to find anything divine in the honest Christianity of Elizabeth, should have extolled, as a providential interference, the godless profligacy of the second Charles. Nobody heard of the divine right of kings, till kings became so weak or so wicked that they had no other prop to lean upon. But at once, when it was discovered that the Court of Charles the Second was one of utter licentiousness, and that it therefore could not claim merit from its virtue, and that his government was one of corrupt oppression, and therefore could not command support by its patriotism; a new reason was found for its continuance, and the Frogs were told that since Jupiter had given them a Crane for a king, they must worship it in silent humility. We regret that the high-

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priests of the new religion, — the spiritual keepers of the royal idol, — should have been found among the clergy of a church, perhaps as pure and enlightened as any other in Christendom. Their genius and their learning gave them claim to an office much higher than that of being the magnifiers of royal prerogative in that age, or the standard of slavish retrogression in this.

Robert South, whose name we have placed at the head of this article, and whose works are undergoing a course of republication, under the able superintendence of Mr. Basil Montague, was first heard of in his generation as the author of an ode on the victories of Cromwell over the Dutch, more remarkable for its adulation than its spirit. Very much the friend of established government, he exerted himself with great ductility to be made the Poet-Laureate of the Protectorate; but Cromwell by his forgetfulness overlooked him, which hardened him almost into an opposition to the republic. Fortunately, however, for him, there were other men who were willing to bear the brunt; and one morning he was aroused, after dreams of a very doubtful character, which had followed a day of moderate republicanism, by the cannon which welcomed the arrival of Charles the Second. It was in the reign of the two last Stuarts that his genius shone forth. Blessed with a disposition, far more pliant than that of his brethren who had suffered with the King in his exile, he wound himself before long into the affections of the Court, and became its favorite preacher, whenever he was permitted by his conscience to pass by its sins. But Dr. South was a bigoted Churchman, though a slavish royalist; and the qualms, which the former quality occasionally gave him, prevented him from grasping tightly the mitre which the other would have secured. Like Thomas à Becket he might have grown from an humble admirer of the King's majesty, to a bold excommunicator of the King himself, and King Charles thinking so, kept him in an intermediate state between the palace and a parsonage. It was in the transition that his sermons were preached; which, after having been classed as the most brilliant efforts of the age which produced them, have been brought forward of late as the reclaimers of the apostasy of the times that have succeeded.

The discourse in the volumes before us, on which most stress is laid, is the one entitled "Ecclesiastical Policy the best Policy." (Vol. I. p. 155.) It commences with a lively delinea-

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tion of the situation of the Protectorate at the time when Cromwell was under the bans of the Episcopal bench. A parallel character being sought for out of Scripture, to illustrate the stubborn malignity of the Protector, Jeroboam is selected as the most suitable for the occasion. The analogy is carried out with the most patient industry. Jeroboam was an innovator, and so was Cromwell. Both succeeded in overthrowing the established government and the established hierarchy, and both also succeeded in filling the seats which they had emptied. At first, it is true, the likeness is only shadowed forth; the preacher deals in frowning generalities; a monster is vaguely outlined, whose atrocity was very similar to that of Jeroboam, but whose feats were still too recent to allow of their open censure; but before long the hand of the artist grows bolder, the portrait becomes more historical, till at length to ensure its recognition, that great name, Oliver Cromwell, starts forth. Two grand moral reflections are drawn from the "righteous" overthrow of the commonwealth, and on which the remainder of the sermon is based.

"1. The surest means to strengthen, or the readiest to ruin the civil power, is either to establish or destroy the worship of God in the right exercise of religion.

"2. The next and most effectual way to destroy religion is to embase the teachers and dispensers of it." — Vol. I. p. 166.

"The reason of the doctrine" laid forth in the first head "may be drawn from the necessary dependence of the very principles of government upon religion. And this I shall pursue more fully. The great business of government is to preserve obedience and keep off disobedience; the great springs upon which those two move are rewards and punishments, answering the two ruling affections of man's mind, hope and fear. — Now, therefore, that which proposes the greatest and most suitable rewards to obedience, and the greatest terrors and punishments to disobedience, doubtless is the most likely to enforce the one, and prevent the other. But it is religion that does this, which to happiness and misery joins eternity. — Were not these (sanctions) frequently thundered into the understandings of men, the Magistrate might enact, order, and proclaim; proclamations might be hung upon walls and posts, and there they might hang, seen and despised, more like malefactors than laws; but when religion binds them upon the conscience, conscience will either persuade or terrify men into their practice. For, put the case, a man knew, and that upon sure grounds, that he might do

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advantageous murder or robbery and not be discovered; what human laws could hinder him, which he knows cannot inflict any penalty, where they can make no discovery? But religion assures him, that no sin can either escape God's sight in this world, or his vengeance in the other. Put the case also, that men looked upon death without fear, in which sense it is nothing, or at most very little; ceasing, while it is endured, and probably without pain, for it seizes upon the vitals and benumbs the senses, and where there is no sense there can be no pain. I say, while a man is acting his will towards sin, he should also thus act his reason, to despise death; where would be the terror of the magistrate, who could neither threaten nor inflict any more? Hence an old malefactor in his execution, at the gallows made no other confession but this, that he had very jocundly passed over his life in such courses, and he that would not for fifty years' pleasure, endure half an hour's pain, deserved to die a worse death than himself. Questionless this man was not ignorant before, that there were such things as laws, assizes, and gallows; but had he considered and believed the terrors of another world, he might probably have found a shorter passage out of this. If there was not a minister in every parish, you would quickly find cause to increase the number of constables; and if the Churches were not employed as places to hear God's law, there would be need of them as prisons for the breaking of the laws of men. Hence 't is observable, that the tribe of Levi had not one place or portion like the rest of the tribes; but because it was their office to dispense religion, they were diffused over all the tribes, that they might be continually preaching to the rest their duty to God; which is the most effectual way to dispose them to obedience to man; for he that truly fears God cannot despise the magistrate." —(Vol. I. pp. 169 – 172.)

We do not wish to be understood as dissenting from the position thus expressed. We go even farther; for as the author maintains that the united sanction of religion and of civil government is necessary to the welfare of a nation, we believe that the influence of the former, if exerted in its purity and strength, would alone be amply sufficient. Human governments, be they ever so complete, can never exhaust the whole catalogue of crimes. There will always be some offences left out from the calendar; for vice is by nature multiform, and like the water chosen by the Florentine Academicians for their great experiment, when pressed the most closely in its assigned limits, will find a place to exude before it is annihilated. Besides, the strictest government can do nothing but prevent wrong, — it

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can never command right. Further, its very tendency would be to emasculate the mind; for the man, who is innocent from compulsion, is tame from necessity. Men can only be tied down to a prescribed course of conduct in two ways; either by the operation of external force, or by the individual action of their own determination. If the former be the case, the compulsion must be complete, to ensure their obedience, — in the latter, the agreement must be sincere, to preserve their integrity. To perfect his plans of entire subordination, the ruler of the *bodies* of men must call in the aid of an established Church, to give him the command over their *souls*. Give to the King unlimited power, give him for subjects an ignorant and disheartened people, tell him that the pulpit is his, and that he may preach in Arabic or Latin if he chooses, give him a loyal body guard, and above all prudence to hold the Globe you place in the hollow of his hand, and you will create a system of machinery of exquisite perfection; one in which there is a motive power with many wheels, but which moves not a single pulse without the consent of the heart that propels it. But above all, give him the Church for a conductor, and the chain will be complete. He can send a shiver to the vitals of the remotest pauper in his kingdom. The old order of things will be stereotyped, and the idiocy of second childhood will be the only change which can be expected. We leave it to the preacher and his editor to explain the advantages of such a position and of such a prospect.

"Government, we see, depends upon religion, and religion upon the encouragement of those, that are to dispense and assert it. For the further evidence of which truth we need not travel beyond our own borders; but leave it to every one impartially to judge, whether from the very first day our religion was unsettled, and Church government flung out of doors, the civil government has ever been able to fix upon a sure foundation. We have been changing even to a proverb. The *indignation of heaven* has been rolling and turning us from one form to another, till at length such a giddiness seized upon government, that it fell into the very dregs of Sectaries, who threatened an equal ruin both to Minister and Magistrate. And how the State has sympathized with the Church, is apparent. For have not our princes, as well as our priests, been of the lowest of the people? Have not cobblers, draymen, mechanics, *governed* as well as *preached*? But God has been pleased by a miracle of mercy to dissipate this confusion and chaos, and give us some openings,

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some dawnings of liberty and settlement. But now let not those, who are to rebuild our Jerusalem, think that the temple must be built last; for if there be such a thing as a God, and religion, as, whether men believe it or no, they will one day find and feel, assuredly he will stop our liberty, till we restore him his worship. Besides, it is a senseless thing in reason, to think that one of these interests can stand without the other, when, in the very order of natural causes, government is preserved by religion. But to return to Jeroboam with whom we began. He laid the foundation of his government in *destroying*, though doubtless he colored it with the name of *reforming* God's worship. But see the issue. Consider him cursed by God, maintaining his usurped title, by continual vexatious wars against the Kings of Judah; smote in his posterity, which was made like the dung on the face of the earth, as low and vile as those priests whom he had employed. Wherefore, the sum of all is this; to advise and desire those, whom it may concern, to consider Jeroboam's punishment, and then they will have little heart to Jeroboam's sin." — Vol. I. pp. 212 – 215.

If the prominent feature in the Scriptural delineation of Jeroboam was his godlessness, we are inclined to believe that Charles the Second would have answered the likeness much better than Cromwell. The latter respected his God, though he slighted the church; the other reverenced neither. Cromwell was also a worshipper at the altar of domestic love, a just and faithful priest in the temple which, next to that which the Almighty has constituted invisibly for the spirits of those who love him, is the most holy; — Charles Stuart prostituted his home to his passions, and erected round his heart strange and heathenish gods, whom he worshipped himself, and made his people worship. For Lady Russel found she need not go to Clarendon for mercy to her noble husband; — that the ministers of justice were the tools of prerogative; that through the gilded ear of a favorite alone, could her prayer reach the king; and in the saddest of all hours, she was ushered into the presence of the last French importation, who dispensed the king's favors from a menagerie of milliners and monkeys. Once a month the monarch changed his mind, and immediately afterwards the new candle was lit, and placed in his council chamber, there to be flitted about by courtier-like moths, or petitioning beetles. Turn back to Cromwell in the grandeur of his familiar hearth! A royal culprit was at the stake, and there hung around the knees of the Protector, his only favorites, his wife and daughter, asking for mercy.

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We shall not inquire into the suitableness of the illustration of the necessity of an established church, drawn from the history of the commonwealth. A very contrary moral, it strikes us, could be drawn. We believe that the imperfect struggles of the revolution faintly shadow forth the sufficiency of God's laws, unassisted by man's device, for the purposes of civil government. If the idea be solemnly impressed on the mind, that there is a God of unlimited grandeur and holiness; that having existed from beyond the first point of time in the majesty of solitude, He was desirous of collecting around him a class of rational, self-acting beings, who could love him because they choose, not because they are forced to do so, and who may become the companions of his glory; that for this purpose He has created us with a conscience to know right from wrong, and yet with a will to choose between them, and has placed our eternal happiness, as well as the success of His own economy, upon the result of our decision; could this idea, we repeat, in its simplicity and force be preached and practised, the cumbrous foundation of earthly governments would vanish at a touch. We could live, and live honestly, without them. The free will of man, the free grace of God, have been received as axioms, and placed away out of reach, as if unable to accomplish the work which a Popish Priest or an English debauchee can gloriously achieve.

Εἷς ταῖς ἀλιθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν Θεὸς
Ὃς οὐρανόν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,
Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίας,
Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίαν πλανώμενοι
Ἱδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὰς
Θεων ἀγάλμάτ' ἐκ λίθων *η χαλκέων,
*Η χρυσοτεύκτων, *η 'λεφαντίνων τύπους,
Θυσίας τε τοιύτοις, καὶ καλας πανηγύρεις
Τεύχοντες, οὕτως εὐσεβειν νομίζομεν.*

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* We have been tempted by its appropriateness to copy entire the preceding beautiful but solitary fragment from a lost tragedy of Sophocles. (Grotius Excerpta, p. 149.) We give a literal translation.

"In truth, there are no more Gods but one
Who made the heaven, the broad earth,
The blue-swelling sea, and the fierce winds;
Yet we mortals in our heart deceived
Have built, to comfort us in sorrow,
Statues of gods, of stone, and brass,
Images of ivory and of gold,
And sacrifice to them in our assemblies,
And think we are religious."

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One half of the energy, which is spent in labelling with the King's head and title the face of every child that can be caught and coined, would be sufficient to acquaint him with what is infinitely more important to the well-being of Society, his responsibility to a much higher sovereign. Men have been willing enough to preach the Gospel; but they have preached so much besides as to render the Gospel ineffectual. They have praised the beauty and strength of its limbs, while at the same time they have restrained their freedom, and placed them upon crutches. It is very difficult to trust them when they extol the efficiency of God's laws in the government of Society, when immediately after the panegyric they turn round, and, like the guilty slave in the Roman fable, refuse to touch the cup which they have mixed. We desire no such suspicious service. The Law and the Gospel have framed a rule of action, better and truer than that which a human legislator can achieve, and all that we would ask is, that it should be allowed to influence the *hearts* of men, without any of the penalties which have generally been attached to it for the purpose of punishing the *body*. The spirit of truth and of charity acts more intimately and successfully on the minds of men when taken individually, than through the cumbrous medium of judicial or legislative authority. God deals not with Society as a mass, but with men as individuals; and in that silent communion with their souls, which He alone can obtain, plants in them the seeds of that conscience, which the most awful paraphernalia of the inquisition could not have imparted.

We are mooting no visionary scheme, when we boast of the faculty of self-government as being the attribute of the humblest of men. It is the end to which mankind is tending, and to which it will arrive as soon as its limbs have recovered from the cramp of a long captivity. The prisoner may faint at the unaccustomed air. The bird may at first flutter at the unknown liberty. We do not know what may be the wildness of joy with which the slave breaks free. We do not know into what floods of glory the soul may burst, when the gates of the body are loosened. But we do know that on this earth there is a free capacity for enjoyment, that there are wide and beautiful fields, and great rivers, and food enough for far more than there are to use it; and that it has been laid waste only by the unhallowed passions of men, and shadowed only by the towering dungeons which have been built to confine them. Is the

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task impossible; can the laboring classes be never so raised as to enable them to participate in that simplest of all victories, self-conquest? are they so weak and silly by nature, that in their capacities they are inferior to those who have during the last century sat on the British throne? Are none of them equal to bear a weight, only a fraction of that, which has in that great empire been successively laid on the shoulders of a lunatic, a debauchee, a sailor, and a woman? Even though we should bow our heads to the dust in the confession, that history tells us, that experience tells us, how strong is passion in the mind, how wildly does the strong man toss himself about when just unloosed, and how mad it would be to unloose him till he had been bled and purged into inanity; even though self-knowledge should tell us of the weakness of our parts, and self-distrust teach us to doubt them; we should learn if we looked on the face of nature, we should learn if we looked on the word of God, that in his sight and by his power we were made freely and equally adapted to the highest exigencies of our nature.

We have entered the more fully on the doctrines of the sermon before us, on account of the interest they have excited. Composed in part of the most violent prescriptions of the most violent era of the English Church, they have operated rather to inflame than to convert the patients to whom they have been applied. If the healing arts of Oxfordism do not in future act more mildly, we shall not fear much either from its allurements or its usurpations.

Apart, however, from the intolerance both in religion and in politics of the volumes before us, we find in them in high perfection the qualities of their times; quick wit and sparkling reasoning united in a relation, at all times very uncommon, with piety the most fervent, though not of the most equal character. It was the misfortune of the age that while, on the one hand, the greatest wits of the kingdom were the most profane of the court; on the other, the Bishops and Archbishops, with whom they had directly to deal, were either incapable of their conversion by a want of piety, or a want of sense. Sancroft, their Archbishop of Canterbury, by his obstinate and uncompromising loyalty to the Stuarts, became the most distinguished prelate of his own day, though the least remembered in this. Having been the Chaplain of Charles the First, in his distresses, and the companion of Charles the Second in his banishment, he was raised on the restoration to the primacy. But his views on the subject of divine right, which

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gave him such a fervent respect for the King's person, prevented him from countenancing, and certainly from mingling in the pantomimes of a Court, in which the King was alternately the drunken Punch and the frolicsome Harlequin; while his rigid hatred to Popery kept him still farther from the presence of James the Second, where he found that the Pope's Nuncio was Lord Chamberlain. Having recommended to the clergy of his diocese, at an annual charge, to take heed of the Roman Serpents who lurk about the green pastures of the Church, "*insidiantur calcaneo*," he was honored by being one of the six Bishops who were prosecuted by the King for sedition. Afterwards becoming a member of the parliamentary Council of State, he united in inviting the Prince of Orange to take charge of the government after the King's desertion; but with admirable consistency to his principles of divine appointment, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the monarch whom he had assisted in crowning, and threw up his mitre among the first of the nonconformists. Such a spirit, so firm and yet so passive, a character so compounded of opposite extremes, on the one hand, of a slavish subservience to delegated right, on the other, of resistance to constituted authority, was shared by him with the great part of the Bishops, and a large proportion of the clergy of the established Church. It certainly showed an honest sincerity in their faith, equal to any that had been displayed in the Reformation; for they left their sleek livings for poverty and oblivion, because they could not swallow an oath of allegiance to the King, whom they had principally managed to place on the throne. We do not wonder that, armed with so strange a mixture of slavish subserviency and uncompromising spirit, they had so little influence on the versatile and witty court of Charles the Second. We all know the story of the King, in one of his drunken frolics, dragging the Archbishop of Canterbury into a dance round the Queen's chamber, whither he had gone for the purpose of giving ghostly advice to the heretical princess. We hope we may be pardoned also for relating an adventure, in which the primate was engaged, together with some of the principal personages of his day, and which not only illustrates their character, but points a moral more spoken of than practised. The Earl of Shaftesbury, on the first day of the term that followed his appointment as Lord Chancellor, determined to exhibit a ceremony which had for a long time fallen into disuse, of escorting the great seal to Westminster, at the open-

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ing of the court, by a cavalcade of the principal officers of Church and State. As they were placed on highly bred horses, everything went well enough, as long as they kept in the open street, though the anxiety attending the management of their fiery steeds, and the weight of their unaccustomed robes, must have very much troubled the dignitaries who composed the procession. But when they came to narrow passages and gateways, "for want of enough gravity in the beasts," we quote from North's reluctant account of the disaster, "and for too much in the riders, there happened some curvetting, which made no small disorder. Judge Twisden, to his great affright, and the consternation of his brethren, was laid all along in the dirt; but all at length arrived safe, without loss of life or limb in the service." (North's Examen. p. 60.)

It is a happy thing for the British constitution that, while it has retained most of the absurd and inconsistent provisions, which in old times entailed such ridiculous consequences, it has managed to make them look more respectable, by dressing them up in all the usual accoutrements of liberty and justice.

We might run through the whole bench of the Bishops of Charles the Second, without finding much deviation from the example, which was set them by their primate. When the Archbishop managed to take the huge leap of calling in the aid of the Prince of Orange, to encase his heaven-sent prince in a strait jacket, they all followed with lamb-like docility; but when they found that, instead of confining the old king, he had been banished, they turned about in a flock, and voluntarily submitted themselves without a murmur to be sheared by the new establishment.

The successor of Sancroft in the see of Canterbury was the famous Tillotson. We confess we cannot join in the village choir, who have occupied themselves ever since in singing praises to his eloquence. It certainly was of the simplest order, being built on the easy principle of saying pleasant truths in pleasant language, and leaving unpleasant truths unsaid. In Burnet, however, who was so long his friend and colleague, we not only recognise the honors which have been already paid him, but we would raise him still higher. We cannot but respect his sturdy and clear Protestantism, and his honest support of King William, taken with his decided opposition to his predecessor. It is difficult to know why Dryden should have represented him as the "Buzzard," in the allegories of the Hind and the Panther, for it is well known that

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Burnet was disgraced from a good living by Charles the Second, on account of a fearless sermon which he preached after the discovery of the Popish plot. The text was "Save me from the lion's mouth, thou hast delivered me from the horns of the *Unicorn*," in which the King thought he saw an allusion to himself and his court, as the beast from which the church was in danger after the Popish Unicorn was vanquished. Burnet was certainly not a trimmer for plurality-sake; for after the accession of William, he managed to have a pamphlet burnt for asserting, that the King owed his crown to conquest or election, and not to dissent. Of his histories it is not in our place here to speak. We would barely refer to his account of the life and death of the Earl of Rochester, a work which, written on the plan of the ancient conversations of Plato, affords the most chaste, and the most attractive summary of the evidences of Christianity of any which we have met with in the language.

We do not place either Burnet or Tillotson as belonging to the court of Charles the Second. They had suffered under the Protectorate, and they continued to suffer on the restoration. They were cold republicans, and still steering in the same even course, became suspicious royalists. If there had been any opportunity of martyrdom by a violent disrespect to the civil authority of the commonwealth, it is certain that Sancroft and Stillingfleet would have won it. It may serve well to illustrate the character of the High Church Bishop, by touching on the history of the most eminent among those, who, though they remained within the pale of the Church and the patronage of the Monarch, refused to be confined by either the bigotry of the one, or the prerogative of the other. Among the moderate clergy of the Church of England, Dr. Isaac Barrow was the most eminent. It is the fashion of the day to neglect Barrow's writings; and indeed there is not a portable edition of them now in print. If his sermons only were thus smothered, we should not so much complain. They are very valuable from the exquisite research they display, from the power of the engine by which they were produced, and from the exhaustion which the subject underwent, before it was done with; but, from the mathematical exactness with which they cover the ground before them, they must disappoint a reader, who is anxious to have a little spot still left, where he can erect his own tabernacle. But the quality which rendered him unfit for a devotional discourse, adapted him to perfection for an argumentative discussion. His treatise on the

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Pope's Supremacy may fall behind Chillingworth's great work, but his view of the internal evidences of the Christian religion, prefixed to his exposition of the Creed, contains a summary of that great doctrine, at once the most magnificent and the most complete. We may at some future period allude more fully to the free and liberal cast of the reasoning which he there adopted. The Oxford writers have placed Barrow in the same category with Laud and Sancroft, though we cannot imagine for what reason. Whatever grounds his consecration sermon, and that preached by order of the King immediately after his restoration, may give to the claim, we think that it is abundantly refuted by the tone of his argument in his treatises on the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. The latter were undoubtedly his most labored works, written at the close of his life, and graced at once by the perfection of his learning, and the maturity of his belief. He certainly was not justly appreciated in his generation. Dr. Pope, his biographer, mentions among others an instance of his having been appointed to preach at Westminster Abbey on a week day, when the monuments were thrown open to public inspection, and when it seems, for that reason, he was not received with the best attention. There happened to be a great crowd present, who had come attracted rather by the desire of seeing than hearing, but the preacher mistaking their object, and not being aware that the rules of the Cathedral were, that none should be allowed to see the tombs till after sermon, prolonged his discourse to a tether, which he was always prepared for, but seldom had occasion to use. After he had preached about three hours, he was interrupted by some strange rebellious sounds from the organ loft, which it seems some of the discontented had stormed, and had converted into their own purposes, by pouring from it a battery on the offending divine. By a singular coincidence, Mr. Baxter happened to be present, attracted and enchained, as he afterwards confessed, by the abstruse grandeur of the preacher's style, and it was only by his powerful interference, that the tumult was pacified, though the conclusion of the sermon was lost.* Indeed Barrow found that he was listened to much better in his parsonage than in the Cathedral; so after a few unsuccessful endeavors to bring his great abilities to a worthier market, he was forced by the coldness of the royal shepherd, and the stupidity of the flock, to bury himself in his

* Pope's Life of Barrow, p. 147.

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perpetual curacy. But the retreat that was most distasteful to him was the means of his reaching a far higher eminence, than either the applause of a congregation or the favor of a king could have given him.

The reign of Charles the Second has often been quoted as the meridian of the genius of the English Church, and a powerful illustration has thence been drawn of the peculiar adaptation of a monarchy both to the purposes of religion and literature. To this might in part be answered, that it was the cessation from civil war, and not the restoration of the monarchy, that gave the man of talent the means to be a man of education, and gave leisure to both to cultivate their parts. But secondly, is it not clear that, however the cloud of polemic divinity may have gathered under the reign of Charles the Second, it did not burst until after the revolution. Charles seems successfully to have avoided the brooding storm; for though it spent itself on all sides, he remained untouched. He silenced Burnet, and he disfavored Barrow; he was too late for Chillingworth and Hooker, and too soon for Tillotson and Swift; and however he may be said to have given to the first leisure and retirement for their studies, he certainly had very little to do with the others. We take our views of the English republic from such poisoned sources, that it is difficult to say whether or not the reign of Charles was a millennium compared to the stormy sway of the protectorate, or whether it was the lamb or the wolf that did most towards muddying the stream. It is a hard matter for an Englishman to dispel the prejudice, that for two centuries has been growing round him in respect to the name of Cromwell. Once a year he gives thanks in his churches for Charles the Second's restoration, and he cannot but believe therefore, that it was a very praiseworthy achievement. But the track of English history, which precedes that event, belongs equally to us, and to him. It is there that the two nations began to separate in their paths. Before they were one. But when the regicides hid themselves in the woods of the valley of the Connecticut, the troopers of the Stuarts could not outroot them. The day will come when as Americans we shall own our parentage, and rescue the character of our ancestors from the reproach, which it was both the taste and the tact of the monarchists to throw around them.

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ART. II. — 1. *System der Christlichen Moral*, von D. FRANZ VOLKMAR REINHARD. Wittenberg. 1814. *System of Christian Morals*, by Dr. FRANCIS VOLKMAR REINHARD. Fifth enlarged and improved edition. In five parts.

2. *Christliche Sittenlehre*, von Dr. WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHT DE WETTE. Berlin. 1819–23. *Christian Ethics*, by Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. In three volumes.

3. *Theologische Zeitschrift.* Von SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, und LÜCKE, herausgegeben. Kritische Uebersicht der Ausbildung der theologischen Sittenlehre in der evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche seit Calixtus. Von Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin. 1819–20. *Theological Journal.* Edited by SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, and LÜCKE. Two articles upon the Progress of Theological Ethics in the Evangelical Lutheran Church since Calixtus. By Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE.

MORALITY is as old as Man and Society. Its foundation is in man's nature and his relations to his Maker and his fellow creatures. To find the beginning of morality, we must go back to the origin of reason and conscience, the sense of right and the sense of duty. *Moral science*, on the contrary, is the creation of reflective reason, and its progress depends upon that of philosophy. The two are related to each other, like religion and theology; as a man may be deeply religious without being versed in theology, so he may be very moral in character without having any just pretension to moral science. Yet as the interests of religion, both for the maintenance of its purity and the satisfaction of reason, demand a consistent system of theological doctrines, so the interests of morality demand a system of moral science, or science of human duties and the sources of moral obligation.

In all reflective ages ethical questions have been among the most attractive subjects of human inquiry. In Greece, however, ethical science appears to have had its origin. We say this notwithstanding the recent efforts to glorify Oriental science at the expense of Greece. Not, indeed, that the human mind in the more ancient nations of Asia and Egypt had taken no thought of moral subjects. But in these Oriental nations, theology and the priesthood bore such undivided sway, as to prevent any free ethical inquiries independent of priestly dogmatism. In

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Greece, the prevalent theology, however much it acted upon the superstitions of the vulgar, and was made to minister to the taste of the refined, had little or no influence over philosophy. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus, moralized just as freely and scientifically, as if the gods of Olympus had no concern at all with Ethics. The fate of Socrates showed, indeed, that he was too pure a moralist for the prevalent mythology and moral condition: yet his simple doctrine of the source of obligation in the moral sense proves the father of ethical science to have stood in no fear of thinking for himself, despite the superstitions of the people. And the ethical speculations of the Academy, the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Garden do not appear to have been much awed by the vicinity of the Temple. Grecian Ethics had little union with Grecian theology, or rather mythology. It is well for the interests of science, that such was the case.

Yet if theology be true, there ought to be no such divorce between it and Ethics. On the contrary, ethical science must be a rational classification of the duties, that grow out of our relations to God and to our fellow beings and to ourselves, and consequently must treat of all the duties, that are enjoined by God, whether in reason or revelation, natural religion or revealed. Now it is a remarkable fact, that comparatively little has been done towards giving a complete system of Ethics in connexion with Christian theology. There have been moralists enough and to spare. But they have been chiefly of two kinds. The one has been so busy with natural ethics, as to neglect the ethics of the gospel; the other has been so occupied with theological doctrines, as to have run into a dogmatism upon subjects of human duty, that has little claim to the name of moral science. It is a remarkable fact, that the great moralists of our mother tongue have seemed to forget their theology in their ethical speculations, as well as their ethical speculations in their theology. Butler, the greatest of them all, either did not seek to reconcile his ethics with his theology, or else he held ethical opinions, little consistent with it. The modern theologians, who have sought to give a system of ethical science, have run to the other extreme, and too often, like Wardlaw, and in some respects, our own esteemed Wayland, sunk ethics in theological dogmatism. Yet we like their purpose to unite the two, although we must look beyond them for success in achieving the union. If our theological dogmas are true, we must not

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only believe them consistent with, but vital elements in ethical science. And the same harmony, that exists between reason and revelation, must also exist between rational ethics and Christian theology. As the attempt to show the harmony between the former has produced a signal reformation in religious opinions, we doubt not that the attempt to harmonize the latter will be productive of full as much good. We ask no better assurance of the progress of rational Christianity, than that theologians should manfully persist in effecting the reconciliation between moral science and Christian theology. The attempt has already shaken to its foundations the doctrines of total depravity, vicarious atonement, and imputed righteousness, or so modified them, that their old champions would not know them in their new dress.

In this article, we propose to sketch the progress of Christian Ethics from its origin to the present time. We shall draw freely from the authors placed at the head of this paper. They are probably the ablest representatives of the two great schools of Christian moralists of the age. Reinhard is a strict Supernaturalist, and aims rather to be an expositor of Christian morals as authoritatively revealed in the Scriptures, although not without considerable pretensions to philosophy; while De Wette is of the Rational Spiritualist School; and although he accepts Christianity decidedly as a supernatural revelation, boldly tries all its doctrines by the light of reason, and is strenuously reconciling its precepts with the precepts of God in the soul.

A history of Christian Ethics would of course, if complete, be a complete history of Moral Science in all ages and nations, since Christianity, in its sources, relations, and progress, has derived some influence from all the nations, and systems of mankind, whether Oriental, Grecian, or Roman. Our task, however, must be an humble one. We aim to give an outline only of the progress of the science. We shall make free use of the works before us, and of any other sources of information, within our reach. It will not of course be thought amiss, that we begin with some remarks upon the morality of the Old Testament, and incidentally of the ethical state of the world before Christ.

I. Among the Oriental nations, Indian, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, before the time of Moses, religion doubtless exercised considerable influence upon life, and in some respects a good influence; and by its purifications and penances did

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much to keep alive the moral sense of the people. But religion, like the public worship, was entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and their power, directed more by selfishness, than by love, did not so much aim to elevate the people to moral freedom, as to keep them in degradation. Morality was slavish, neither free in spirit, nor rational in doctrine. Doubtless there were exceptions; some, who, like the patriarchs, had not wandered far from the simple worship of God, and like obedience to his will. But we look in vain even among the patriarchs for any clear and full statements or ideas of human duty.

In considering the Ethics of the Old Testament, we shall divide its history into two periods, and speak first of the Ethics of Hebraism, and then of Judaism: the one ending with the Captivity; the other with the advent of the Messiah.

1. The Ethics of the Hebrews takes character of course chiefly from the Mosaic law. "What Moses did," says De Wette, "he did with love and freedom, for love and freedom. He found his people almost in a state of nature in respect to religion, but without the disadvantages of a fixed routine. They were in danger by their abode in Egypt of losing their original monotheism and their freedom. Moses secured both to them by means of *civilization* derived from Egypt, and at the same time by a degree of spiritual light and freedom, so extraordinary for his age, as to justify the belief in a supernatural revelation, while he established a priestly and symbolical worship of God, but without priestly tyranny, idolatry, and mythology, and also a civil constitution, theocratic indeed, yet republican. The great advantages of this establishment were in a religious point of view, — free elevation of thought to the unseen God, — equal participation of all in the Sanctuary, — consecration of civil and moral life by the worship of a Holy Deity, — religious public spirit: in a civil and moral point of view its advantages consisted in equality of legal rights — mildness towards slaves, — consecration of domestic life, — education in purity, &c. The Scriptures were the common property of all." The Mosaic Decalogue is at the foundation of all subsequent civilization, it contains the great elements of all law, religious, civil, and social, and the experience of all subsequent ages goes to confirm the worth of its commandments, and the divinity of its origin.

But the Mosaic administration was not without great defects. The relation of the civil government to religion and morality was so close as to give rise to much evil, and to promote cere-

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monial sanctimoniousness. It lacked the idea of future retribution, and the tendency it gave to life was earthly. The priesthood was reserved to a particular tribe, and thereby priestly ambition had wide play. National hatred marked the public spirit of the people; its first act was the extirpation of the Canaanites, an act, which, however ordered by Providence, was performed in hate; a continued religious separation cherished this hatred. The accomplishment of the Mosaic plan failed, because it was a task too high for the people; a broad chasm stood between the idea and the reality; the people tended constantly to idolatry, and wavered between repentance and new apostacy; there was lack of true inspiration, and even among the best of them longing for better things was the predominant sentiment.

After the division in the period of the Judges, Samuel arose, filled with the spirit of Moses, as leader of the Theocracy, but was forced to introduce Monarchy, which, however, was kept in check by the prophetic office established by him. In prophecy a nobler spirit broke forth, a purer and freer moral sense, and in the Psalms, devotion appears in full freedom, and in the Proverbs, morality shows itself in rational reflection. But a short period of prosperity prepared the way for a still greater downfall; the larger part of the Kingdom abandoned itself to idolatry; prophecy made a severe struggle, and its idea conquered only in martyrdom, and in the longing cherished by the hope and promise of the Messiah.

As to the theocratical system of morals, its main principle was religious. The love of God and the fear of him were enjoined, and perhaps fear predominated. The idea of human dignity consisted in resemblance to God, and this especially depended upon sharing in the divine spirit. The social tendency was theocratic and nationally limited, as if the people of Israel were the elect; and it was the same with their views of righteousness, which was a national prerogative.

The Hebrews cherished, and much valued moral wisdom. This had a religious principle and aim, and its opposite was deemed ungodliness. It is exhibited, as divine and supernatural, but it inclines very much towards experience, and passes into prudence, as appears often in the proverbs.

A moral *disposition* is required by the Mosaic law, and yet more significantly, in opposition to merely outward worship and mere knowledge of the Law, by the Prophets and Poets. For

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purity and sincerity of heart, joy in goodness, control of passion, there are many injunctions in the Psalms and Proverbs; and faith in the omniscience and holiness of God is made a means of awakening the conscience. For true virtue, piety, and knowledge, however, the Prophets looked to a brighter future.

The philanthropy of the Old Testament is much narrowed by exclusiveness, although not towards strangers, who sojourned with the nation, and although the Prophets express an interest in the salvation of the heathen. Towards their fellow countrymen, charity was especially commanded. The strict regard for chastity deserves our high respect; and also the cultivation of domestic life. The discipline of the young was strict; social intercourse, measured and laconic. Friendship bore a noble bloom in David and Jonathan. Outward excellences were postponed to inward, although even those were a proper object for wisdom. The arts flourished little, and poetry so much the more. Political enthusiasm was without stability. The Prophets displayed the virtue of self sacrifice.

Moses was no enemy to sensual enjoyment. He ordained a single fast, and forbade wine to the Priests only during the discharge of their office. The voluntary vow of the Nazarite, especially the vow for the whole extent of life, contains, however, the germ of asceticism. Extraordinary fasts were sometimes held. Yet the Prophets were not in favor of them. They were studious of a retired life, but probably more for the sake of its independence, than its greater sanctity.

Moral retribution, like the legal, with which it was connected, did not always distinguish the innocent from the guilty: hence the later correction in the book of Deuteronomy. Even the religious idea of a common guilt and penalty was subsequently made subordinate to the fundamental principle of individual moral retribution. The law took under its protection an unintentional murderer; on the contrary undesigned and unconscious transgressions, even a murder, whose author was unknown, must be expiated. The idea of moral freedom is not destroyed by obduracy, or the enticement to evil, although it is only darkly expressed. The rule of judging was generally sought in external laws; there was no word for conscience, although the idea was not wanting. There was frequent reference to moral desert, and at the same time genuine humility.

The theocratical tendency of religion and morality brought

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with it faith in an earthly retribution. Hence in misfortune either repining against God, and violent supplication, or else too great dejection, perhaps attended with unmerited, at least too extravagant self-accusation. The consoling idea of divine discipline, and faith in the forgiveness of sins are not wanting, although the expiation of sin is often vainly sought in sacrifices.

The doctrine of an earthly retribution, oft contradicted by experience, induced doubts concerning Providence, which were vainly resisted. Resignation is taught by Habakkuk, and especially by the Book of Job, which opposes to the common doctrine of retribution the testimony of a good conscience, immovable moral sense, and faith in the wisdom of God. But the Book of Ecclesiastes gives way almost entirely to the view, that all is vanity and folly, and nothing but momentary enjoyment is worth pursuing, although it by no means recommends frivolous dissipation, and does not gainsay morality, resignation, and faith in retribution.

As the final aim of all moral effort, peace of mind is regarded, and the higher life, although this was not spiritually comprehended, and consequently Hebraism lacked an eternal foundation, and could not resist the might of time.

2. Ethics of Judaism. By the restoration after the exile, the Jewish nation, through want of political independence, and through their yet firmly held system of exclusiveness, sank into a sect, which adhered to the letter of the Mosaic Law, and lacked its spirit. Priests and Scribes held to an unmeaning observance of the law and customs, although the sententious wisdom and scriptural learning of Jesus, Son of Sirach, is a fair monument of study of the ancient wisdom of the country, observation of life, and reflection. At the same time, an influx of the wisdom of farther Asia took place, from which, probably, fasting and the doctrine of the resurrection and of eternal retribution were derived, both of which, however, were not equally prevalent.

Among the Greeks, who had much earlier freed themselves from political and hierarchical despotism, the spirit of freedom, and the sense of truth, beauty, and human perfection, especially physical and intellectual, were developed in a brilliant manner. Although their religion lacked the Oriental depth, and their philosophy was partly lost in subtlety and partialism, yet the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato maintained a lofty, holy earnestness. Grecian civilization by the conquest of Alexan-

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der was carried into the East, and came not only in Egypt, but also in Palestine itself into contact with Judaism. Here arose among the Macedonian Syrians and the Jews, many of whom sided with the former, a contest between the old strict Judaism and Græcism, in which Judaism prevailed by the power of the Maccabees. Now Pharisaism with its adherents to the letter and tradition, and its doctrine of the resurrection and retribution, became prevalent, in opposition to which, Sadducism, which remained true to the ancient Hebraism, existed only in the higher classes. On the contrary in Alexandria, the Jews appropriated to themselves the wisdom of Pythagoras and Plato, with their own supernatural principles, and took an inclination towards mysticism and contemplation. The Essenes and Therapeuts formed upon this their discipline. The writings of Philo, and the Book of Wisdom present, a mixture of Greek ideas with ancient Hebrew faith.

The Romans, following their love of dominion with signal energy of character, conquered the whole civilized world, without accomplishing anything, but the ruin of the nations and an equal degradation beneath their sway, hence a certain unity, although an empty one. Former civilization ceased, and a longing for a new and higher arose. Even the Jews lost their new independence, so briefly possessed under the Maccabean dynasty. The national character in and beyond Palestine had suffered much from captivity and separation. The reign of Herod and his family only increased the disgrace. Then the better spirit of the nation arose to the ancient hope of the Messiah, which, although perverted by superstition, kept awake the sensibility for a new, better creation.

We will now speak briefly of Jewish Ethics, as shown in the writings of the Son of Sirach, and the Book of Wisdom. According to the Son of Sirach, as according to Solomon, wisdom begins and ends in the fear of God. The image of God in man he seems among others to place in the reason. But his idea is theocratically restricted; wisdom dwells in Israel, and the law is its manifestation. The condition of obtaining it is pure, pious disposition and aspiration, also reflection; individual reflection is strongly defended, yet more importance is attached to experience, and theocratic piety is required.

According to the Book of Wisdom, Wisdom is the all pervading spirit of God, which willingly inclines to men; it is the source of all human intelligence and virtue, of all spiritual good,

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only to be attained through earnest aspiration, and divine grace. It is the property of Israel; but the author seems to value Solomon, or the wisdom ascribed to him, higher than the Mosaic Law.

According to this book, the highest dignity and destiny of man consists in his being the son and friend of God: according to the Son of Sirach, in the fear of God and his approbation. From their recommendation and admiration of wisdom, and their appreciation of inward virtue, it is clear, that they both demand vital feeling and free love. Perfection before men is not perfection before God; as the sum of all virtue both regard the worship of the true God. Jesus Sirach prizes charitableness almost too high. Yet his philanthropy is narrowed by national hatred. He has a high sense of nuptial and domestic life, and of friendship. He does not regard outward excellences merely, deeply esteems mental culture, and does not contemn the fine arts.

The wisdom of the pseudo-Solomon is philanthropic, yet it deems the Canaanites a cursed race, unworthy of divine regard.

Jesus Sirach does not despise the temperate, cheerful enjoyment of life, and does not enjoin fasting. The pseudo-Solomon places the principle of sin in the body, but does not expressly command fasting, although he in a manner countenances celibacy, but not mystic contemplation, although he probably belonged to the sect of Therapeuts.

In regard to retribution, Jesus Sirach ascribes to man free-agency, and knowledge of good and evil; he has the conception of conscience, although no word for it, and recognises its inner peace; the idea of religious retribution prevails. The reward is decidedly earthly, in consideration of decided merit or guilt, and comes at least at the end of life, or reaches posterity. He holds to a moral Providence.

The Book of Wisdom speaks of the inner peace, which wisdom obtains, and of the pain of a bad conscience. A good conscience is represented, as leading to wealth, power, glory, immortality; yet the righteous are often tried and oppressed by the wicked; true retribution first takes place in eternity, on the great judgment day, when the just will be in peace and majesty, but the unjust will suffer eternal destruction. The writer appears to teach the doctrine of a heavenly kingdom upon earth, and a judgment of the living at the last day.

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We now turn to the Jewish Philo, and will say a word of his views of morality. According to him, the divine, and at the same time, human reason, is the source of moral law, which is at the same time the law of the universe. Man is actually sinful, and needs the divine assistance to goodness; the divine reason is the source of virtue, but man possesses freedom, and activity is required of him. Nevertheless, Philo connects the doctrine of duties with the Mosaic Law, deemed by him perfect and immutable, especially with the ten commandments, but also with the historical Scriptures, by allegorical interpretation.

Philo represents virtue, as the harmony and free activity of the soul, goodness in thought, word, and work; it is likeness to God; in it the true destiny of man consists. Its true power lies in freedom, its motives spring from hope and faith. It has a worth in itself, and should be practised fondly and earnestly. It is in itself one, and its sum is goodness, piety, or heavenly love, or piety in conjunction with human love.

Since the body is the seat of the passions, and the cause of the thraldom of the soul, the virtuous man must free himself from it, and must not only study purity and temperance, but must wholly extirpate the passions.

Philo valued philanthropy very highly; he exhibits it in the character and laws of Moses, and extends it even to strangers and enemies. He ascribes great superiority to the people of Israel; is not free from national revenge, yet he acknowledges the wisdom and virtue of the heathen. He bases the duty of courtesy and gentleness towards all, even the humble, upon the original equality of men. He held it as an imperfection to neglect philanthropy on account of piety, while he praises the Essenes and Therapeuts, who did this.

Philo emphatically recognises the freedom and accountability of man, as also conscience. The recompense of virtue and of vice is inward, and eternal; yet he recognises an outward, natural, and divine retribution.

Little need be said of the Ethics of the Jewish sects. That of the Essenes and Therapeuts rested upon philosophical foundations. The former formed an ascetic order, with strict discipline, the latter lived in freer, contemplative society. The Pharisees, in respect to doctrinal belief and morals, followed tradition, and the authority of commentators; hence their strict interpretation and observance, especially, of the ceremonial law,

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and their casuistry. On this account, the New Testament accuses them of hypocrisy. Their virtue was ostentatious, and eager of reward. The Sadducees maintained opposite principles.

This cursory view of the state of Ethics before Christ shows, that much had been done to prepare the human mind for the reception of Christianity. Yet, there was no complete system of morals, nor perfect example of virtue, nor living, active community, in which virtue might be nurtured. This want was supplied by Christianity. In Jesus morality arose, perfect in the Son of Man, perfect in precept, perfect in example, at once a doctrine, sanctioned by Heaven, and a life, commending itself with power to every faithful heart. Simple, so as to meet the wants of the child, sublime beyond the compass of the sage, in Jesus the light of pure and full morality shone upon the world for the first time. To the consideration of the Ethics of Christianity, we now pass.

II. In Jesus Christ morality was manifested in all its fulness, both as a rule of action, and a sentiment of the soul. Yet the New Testament by no means attempts to give a scientific system of morals. And it is a good proof of its Divinity, that, instead of seeking to employ the language or the generalities of abstract science, it directs its teachings to the common heart and sense of mankind, and gives its sublimest lessons in the simplest figures and parables. It comprehends all virtues, indeed, in love, the love of God and the love of man, but does not attempt to classify the various duties resulting thence, although it furnishes ample materials and guidance for such classification. Yet, we are by no means to suppose, that the New Testament, because it contains no scientific system of morals, forbids our seeking such a system. God has not revealed to man natural philosophy, but has given him the book of nature, without note or comment; yet the natural philosopher is but following the virtual commands of God, by studying the laws of nature, and developing the wonders of physical science. So also with spiritual truths. God has revealed these in Jesus, in the same manner, as he has manifested natural laws in creation. He has exhibited them in his Son in their living manifestation, as he has exhibited natural laws in their activity throughout the universe. As the natural philosopher studies the principle of gravity, for instance, in nature, or the outward creation, so the

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moral philosopher studies the principle of love, or of right and duty, in Jesus and the new creation. First, the life was manifested by vital inspiration, afterwards comes the study of the law of that life, and its scientific application to the various relations of mankind.

No Christians, we believe, deny the importance of a science of Christian Ethics, although some would place such science in a logical classification and exegesis and application of Scripture texts, and others would, by a deeper analysis, search into the elements of duty, right, reason, conscience. Without attempting, at present, to give our views of the true rationale, and principles of Christian Ethics, we proceed to speak of the attempts made, in the several ages of Christendom, to form such a science. Following a very obvious line of division, we will consider the history of Christian morals in the three great periods of the Church, — the Catholic age, or from the origin of Christianity to the time of Gregory the Great, that principal founder of Papal dominion; the Papal age, or from the sixth century to the sixteenth; and lastly, the Protestant age. In our remarks concerning the Ethics of these three ages, we shall derive much aid from the authors before us, who furnish so abundant materials, that we fear lest our abstract may be too condensed to be clear. In speaking of the two first periods, we can afford to be brief, and shall be content to follow mainly the concise history given by Reinhard, in his Introduction; whereas, in speaking of Protestant Ethics, more latitude will be taken, and De Wette's copious materials will be brought into requisition.

1. In speaking of the morality of the first five centuries of Christianity, Reinhard justly remarks, that Christian morals, as a *science*, is not very ancient. Christ and his apostles did not teach it in this form, and the teachers of the ancient Christian Church, in the first five centuries were prevented, by many causes, from thinking of a scientific development of morality. The first three centuries were to Christendom a period of conflict with the prevailing religions of the Jews and heathen, and with the philosophy of antiquity. The first Christian authors were, therefore, busied merely with contradicting the calumniatory accusations, which were diffused against their party; with answering the objections, which were brought against their religion; and with exhibiting those excellencies, by which this was so advantageously distinguished from the Jewish and heathen superstitions. The teachers of this period devoted a part

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of their efforts to the controversies, which broke out in the bosom of the Church itself, and which were already quite numerous and passionate. In such a state of things, it is very obvious, why practical truths were only occasionally treated by them, or at most such single subjects were more expressly considered, as stood in certain connexion with the prevalent controversies, and referred to the circumstances of the time. The ideas of morality, held and diffused in this age, were not merely undeveloped and incomplete; they were not refined and pure. The morality of the Gnostics must have been quite fluctuating, varying with different circumstances and teachers, now extremely lax in its character, and now very rigid. Yet, the Gnostics, as a body, were champions of reason and science, and amid all their absurdities, we may recognise their effort to reconcile the light of reason with the light of revelation, the voice of God in the soul, with his voice in the word, the law written on the heart with the law of the letter. But, without pausing to consider their different parties, we observe, that in the middle of the period, now before us, those corruptions in the morals of the Catholic Church began to appear, which subsequently spread their pollutions everywhere, and so endangered true virtue. The tendency towards gloomy austerity constantly increased; extravagant importance was attached to retirement from active life, to solitude, fasting, celibacy, and contemplative exercises. The true idea of Christian perfection was changed and falsified, and confounded universally with that Oriental fanaticism, which afterwards distinguished the monks. While it was distinctly felt how little such principles were adapted to the common relations of life, and what confusion must result from their general adoption, a distinction began to be made in morality. *Common* morality was distinguished from the *higher*, and all solitary discipline and self-denial were ascribed to the latter, to which men could devote themselves only by freeing themselves from all ordinary obligations. The whole doctrine of morals was thus most sadly perverted; the very essence of Christian virtue was deemed something ordinary and trivial; and moral grandeur was sought in things, which are either mere means of virtue, or else superstition and darkest fanaticism. A multitude of causes coöperated to give thus early this unhappy tendency to the morals of Christendom. If we consider the zeal, in itself laudable enough, to keep pure from all idolatry, and by strictness and self-denial, to

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shame the vicious sensuality of the Heathen; the vivid contempt for everything earthly, which sprung up so naturally in the pressure of great persecutions, and seemed so indispensable for the preservation of Christianity; the church zeal, needful at such times, which awakened and diffused too high an opinion of the worth of outward worship, and of participating in it; the too great reverence for martyrs, who were not always wise, good men; the great inexperience of most Christians in the art of interpreting the Scriptures; the fanatical philosophy, which so early pressed into the Christian Church; the circumstance finally, that men of so many different nations and characters treated the morals of Christianity, without starting from any fixed principles; when we consider the disadvantageous influence of all these things upon the elucidation and propagation of this most important part of religious doctrine, we cannot so much wonder, that it was perverted so soon, and so directly as it was. The principal writers, whose works upon moral subjects have survived from this age, and can serve to confirm what has been said, are Clement of Alexandria, and Origen from the Greek; Tertullian and Cyprian from the Latin Church. An interesting notice of the Ethics of Clement of Alexandria may be found in a past volume of this Journal. It has seemed to us in reading several accounts of the Ethics of the Church in the early ages, notice enough is not taken of the different ground held upon moral subjects by the Greek and Latin, or rather, the Eastern and Western Churches. De Wette, indeed, contrasts the Alexandrian Moralists with Tertullian, and claims for the former a greater regard for the philosophy of morals, or disposition to find a basis for obligation in reason and conscience, as well as in revelation. Perhaps much more might be made of the contrast. We are inclined to think that Tertullian and Origen, or Clement, might be regarded as representatives of the most important antagonist tendencies in the early Church, the liberal and rational, the rigid, and the traditional movements in moral science, as well as in theology.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, the corruptions of Christian morals, already introduced, not only continued, but grew worse, and were multiplied. Every form of superstition gained the ascendancy among Christians; ceremonies were multiplied in public worship, and an extravagant importance was attached to them; pilgrimages, fasts, a life of celibacy and voluntary pov-

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erty, and freedom from all civil relations, were declared conducive to the highest degree of holiness; the more the pressure from without ceased, and the Church, heretofore persecuted, began to rule, the more the earnestness and strictness were abandoned, with which they had else pressed forward to pure morals, and to a virtuous life; inquiries and controversies upon speculative points of doctrine became more subtle and vehement, and not only deterred from a careful study of moral science, but also caused the greatest merit to be attached to conformity to the Church creed, and the preference of this to true morality. The causes of this sad degeneracy are easily to to be found. They lie principally in the almost incredible rapidity with which Monasticism diffused itself in the whole Church; and in the zeal, with which the bishops, and Christian teachers in general, sought to increase its importance. Correct ideas of morality and virtue disappeared in the same degree, in which the monks by their ostentatious, plausible piety dazzled the great ignorant multitude, made themselves generally masters of the pulpit, and gained a decisive influence in the ecclesiastical councils. The bishops, whose ambition showed itself more and more plainly, favored the monks, as a prop of their power; they surrounded themselves, in order to make a deeper impression, with a delusive parade of ceremony in their offices; and cared far more for the maintenance of so called orthodoxy of opinion, than for the moral improvement of their communions, because, by the former means, they enlarged their importance, far more successfully, than by the latter. Hence the ordinances and regulations, which are found in the Canons of the Councils, relate almost entirely to external discipline, to the ceremonies of divine worship, and to the rank and relations of the clergy.

In all the excellent observations upon morality in general, and single virtues in particular, in all the manly witnesses against the prevalent vice and corruption of the age, in all the urgent and touching exhortations to reformation and Christian piety, which are to be found in the wholly or partly ethical writings of Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Salvian, Leo, Cassian, Eucharius; yet further, Basilius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Macarius, Ephrem, Isidore of Damietta, and Theodoret; it cannot be denied, that their moral doctrine is generally deformed by the above-named faults, and that all tended to a still greater decline.

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There were, however, some men, who ardently opposed this disorder, and vindicated better principles; Jovian, Vigilantius, Audius, Pelagius, and some others belonged to this class. But because their number was not greater, their influence upon the prevailing opinions was not more important, and they immediately upon their outset were proclaimed as heretics, branded and persecuted, it is sufficiently evident, how much the desire of improvement had diminished in this age.

If we were to select two minds as the best representatives of the antagonist tendencies in the Ethics of the latter half of the period under review, these would be Augustine and Pelagius, — the one the champion of moral inability, and total depravity, and the other, the branded heretic, who so nobly advocated the freedom of the will, and moral ability, and the consequent ethical as well as theological doctrines. We should like to speak somewhat at length of the system of Augustine, but can pass it by with less reluctance, since his doctrines, as well as those of his antagonist, are well represented among the modern systems, that are to be considered. We now pass in brief survey the Ethics of the Christian world during the age of Papacy.

2. The period of time from the sixth century to the Reformation is almost wholly unfruitful in respect to pure moral science. The prevalent views of morality during this long period, the prevailing views of morals may be divided into the *popular*, the *monastic*, the *scholastic*, and the *mystic*; but none of these four kinds was of such character, as to give us satisfaction, although we must assign the highest value to the last.

As regards, in the first place, the popular morality, this comprised what was enjoined upon the people, as the requisition of Christianity; and hence was prescribed to those, who lived in the ordinary relations of life, or, as the usual phrase was, in the world. Nothing could be more deficient, and less conformed to the pure morality of Jesus, than these requisitions. Nothing was said, in these lamentable times, of the culture of Christian wisdom, pure sentiments, and active virtue. The whole was confined to habituating the laity to a punctual attendance on external worship, to a multitude of self-devised penances, and devotional exercises, to liberality towards the clergy, and to blind subjection to their authority. He, who was most obedient in these particulars, gained the reputation of piety, even if he allowed himself the coarsest excesses. In this tendency

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of general opinion, and in the ever increasing efforts of the bishops, especially the Romish, after an unlimited dominion over the conscience and the goods of the communions entrusted to them, it was also very natural, that the spectacle of ceremonial worship should be constantly more splendid, the multitude of festivals larger, the established penalties of sin more manifold, and the prevalent superstition ever more wild and extravagant. The furies of the flagellants, the ordeal, the indulgence, and especially the crusades, prove how far the age proceeded in this direction. Since we find, during this whole period, nothing but poor homilies, meagre moralizing essays, lying legends, and oriental manuals of penance, which can be called by the name of popular morals, it will not be wondered, that all historical memorials of this age are full of stories and complaints of the brutal viciousness and rude barbarity of the great mass, who seem to have known almost nothing of the laws of true morality. The sect of the Waldenses alone exhibited a purer morality; but how it was treated upon that account by the predominant Church, is well known.

As little good can be said of *monastic morality*, as of the morality of the people, already considered. All the defects and corruptions, which the morals of monasticism had exhibited from its origin, continued during this period, because they were too essentially connected with it, ever to be separated. But during the continual decline of learning, and the constantly increasing authority of the monks, these must have become worse, and the little good been forced out of them, which was mingled with them. The number of monks and cloisters incredibly increased; the multitude of wild fanatics in the East correspondently multiplied, and in the West the host of sluggish, luxurious idlers; especially in the Western Church, under the protection of the Romish bishops, — who regarded the monks justly, as the support, and the main pillars of their power, — one new order sprang up after another. By the wealth, accumulated in the cloisters, these buildings often became abodes of gluttony and voluptuousness; and as often as the attempt was made to reform the decayed monastic discipline, such reformations were seldom enduring, and it very naturally followed, that towards the end of this period the monks became an object of hatred to all, who were well disposed towards religion and virtue. The character of monastic morals may be learned best from the rules of the cloister, from the biographies of monkish saints, and

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from the ascetic writings of monks, which were composed during this age in great multitudes.

It was at once the sad lot of Christian morals during this period, either to be wholly neglected, or yet to be distorted. The latter happened to it, in a manner heretofore unachieved, by the *Scholastic* Theology. All the errors and defects, which the theoretic part of religious doctrine had among the Scholastics, are apparent in the treatment of the practical part, which latter they treated far less connectedly than the former. Their inability to interpret Scripture, their tendency to hair-splitting inquiries, their indefatigable love of controversy, and entire want of knowledge of mankind, of experience, and practical judgment, which is apparent in all their works, these things taken together, must needs make morality degenerate into a web of fruitless subtleties, and a magazine of isolated, and mostly fictitious cases of conscience. How little they were in a condition to derive the morality of Jesus from the Scriptures, is apparent from the division, prevalent in their works, of the virtues into moral and theological. In the exposition of moral virtues, they chiefly followed Aristotle; and brought under the name of theological something upon faith, hope, and love. Most of the *moralists* among the Scholastics were expositors of Thomas Aquinas; most of the *casuists* among them, on the contrary, directed their inquiries by the manuals of penitence, of which so great a number were at hand, and thus had reference to the Confessional; the Confessional doubtless contributed to the cultivation of casuistry, and to attaching so high a value to its inquiries. By all the acuteness, which both classes of writers have lavished, the discovery of genuine moral principles was neither effected nor facilitated.

Abelard and Thomas Aquinas were chief of Scholastic Moralists. We cannot deny them the credit of some freedom of inquiry, and some degree of psychological insight. They did not fail to recognise the law of nature or of reason, nor the correct view of the connexion between the Old and the New Law. They ascribed a moral sense to man. Conscience was deemed obligatory, although erring. Aquinas distinguished the end, as in itself good, from the means; and the enjoyment, which consists in the attainment of the means from the use, which has reference only to the means. The intention is directed to both. Abelard, on the contrary, refers to the intention merely, whereby he neglects those actions, which, in them-

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selves, are indifferent; yet he distinguishes between a well-meant and an actually good intention. Aquinas decides upon the goodness of the will, not by the intention, but by conformity to the Divine will, but wickedness of will by its deviation from reason, whether correct or mistaken, and judges the goodness or wickedness of the outward deed according to its object, and even according to circumstances; in his view, the outward act may increase the goodness or wickedness of the heart within, while according to Abelard, the fulfilment adds nothing to the action. Abelard places the proper inward act in assent; lust in itself is not sin. All human actions proceed from free will, and so far only are subject to retribution. Sins of passion are sins of weakness, those of wickedness are the heaviest. Pardonable sins, according to Abelard, are such as are done from forgetfulness, damnable are such as are done from reflection, and against brotherly love. Peter Lombard held similar views. According to Aquinas, sins *without* the motive of love were venial, but those *against* love were deadly; yet he had not reference merely to the object, but also to the disposition. Abelard rejected repentance springing from fear; it should flow from love to God. To repentance, according to the established creed, belonged confession and satisfaction, but he did not hold much to public confession, nor to indulgences.

The Scholastics in opposition to Augustine, conceived of virtue as a human agency. From regard for antiquity, the supernatural, inspired, *theological virtues* of Augustine's system were adjoined to the natural virtues of intellect and morality, although the strict idea of virtue does not attach to them. Without just connexion, and from mere usage, the classes of spiritual gifts derived from the theological virtues are introduced, and are placed among these, although above the moral virtues. The intellectual virtues are these; *Wisdom, Knowledge, Understanding* to perceive the good; *Art* to effect it; *Prudence* to devise the means to it; with prudence are connected *Eubulia*, or counselling prudence, and *Synesis*, and *Gnome*, or decisive prudence. The moral virtues are four; *Prudence, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude.* The theological virtues are three; *Faith, Hope, Charity.* The spiritual gifts are *Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel. Knowledge, Piety*, and *Fear:* these were enumerated by Gregory the Great, from Isaiah xi. and introduced into Ethics. The beatitudes from Matthew v. and the twelve fruits of the spirit from Galatians v.

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were also incorporated into the system. It will be at once seen how arbitrary and clashing among themselves these classifications are, and that they have no pretension to scientific clearness or completeness. The same will be found the case in the classification of sins.

For the improvement of the heart and life, the *mystic morality* was, and remained most effective. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of antiquity, and cannot be properly exhibited, even should the men be named, who have first advanced and diffused it. But its origin is more conceivable, if we consider our spiritual nature. It cannot remain hid from earnest men, who commune with themselves in silent meditation, that there is something divine within us, that exalts us above the sensible world, and with which the demands of our inclinations too often stand in contradiction. Considered with reflective distinctness, this God within us is nothing but our reason, and the moral law fixed in ourselves: to this belongs a knowledge of our own nature, and of all its powers; a fathoming of the deepest mysteries of our spiritual faculties, which, in ancient times, when psychology was almost entirely neglected, could not be expected. Nothing was therefore more natural, than that this feeling, in itself proper, but dim, of the dignity of human nature, which reason could not explain, should be seized upon by the imagination and led astray. And thus, those views, which constitute the essence of Mystic Theology, and of the Ethics therewith connected, sprang up, as it were of themselves, and were generally awakened. The souls of men were deemed to be actual parts and effluences of the Godhead; their connexion with bodies, and inclination to sensual enjoyment were considered proofs of their degradation and pollution; and since their highest bliss and glorification, on account of their relationship with God, consisted in nothing but their return to God, and in an entire confluence with the pure original fountain of their being, it must of course be considered duty to withdraw as much as possible from everything sensual, to suppress and deaden the corporeal inclinations, to sink into silent contemplation, to free themselves from the regular business of life, and in undisturbed seclusion seek after that union with God, and that unspeakable peace in the bosom of God, which were regarded as the supreme aim of all human wishes. Even before the time of Christianity, many institutions and regulations are found to have existed, which were founded upon

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these views. With the doctrines of Christianity, these were very easily connected, and hence it is not to be wondered, that even in the first centuries of the Christian Church there were ascetics and anchorites, and lately monks, who adhered to them. The pseudo-Dionysius contributed no little since the fifth century, by his writings, to bring these views still more into vogue in the East. By means of the Latin translation, which John Erigena made of these writings in the ninth cencentury, the Mystic Theology, which had already with the monks made some progress in the West, attained still more importance there; and there was thenceforth a number of Christian teachers, who, indifferent to learning and speculation, urged quiet improvement, purification of heart, and virtuous conduct, and by contemplative introversion sought the way of communion with God. Bernard Clairvaux, Hugo, and Richard Saint Victor, Bonaventura, Gerson, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and Gailer von Cæsarberg, are the principal writers of this class. We owe it to them, and such as them, that the sense of piety and virtue in an age, when all tended to oppress it, was kept unharmed and active in numberless men; it is equally true, on the other hand, that principles, so easy to be carried out into fanaticism, were in numerous instances thus abused.

It has already been observed, and might be much enlarged upon, that in the centuries heretofore considered, there were many sincere men, who bore witness against the prevalent immorality, and boldly and earnestly insisted upon reform. Towards the time of the Reformation, the voices of such were more loudly raised, and the efforts to do away the predominant abuses increased. Among the men, who were conspicuous for such zeal, and who helped to bring on the purification of the Morals of the Church, Petrarch, Wiclif, and Huss, deserve especially to be mentioned. And since subsequently by means of the fugitive Greek scholars, the sciences were revived in Italy, and thence were extended farther, that beneficial change was thus remarkably facilitated, which in the sixteenth century, took place in theology generally, and consequently in Christian Ethics. But we must defer the consideration of the progress of this science during the age of Protestantism, until a future time. While speaking, however, of the heralds of the Reformation, let us not forget one name, not mentioned by the authors, from whom most of the preceding history has been abstracted. If Reinhard and De Wette mention Petrarch, why

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not Dante, the nobler genius, as well as the earlier? Dante was the sturdier reprover of Papal corruption and slavish submission to Papal arrogance. He moreover belonged to the coming ages, while Petrarch was the man of the Classic past. If Dante has left us no moral essays concerning the "Remedies of either Fortune," and the "Contempt of the World," he has left a poem of nobler spirit and sterner morality, than the lover of Laura ever exhibited; and proved by his example, that he was equal to either fortune, and could despise the world otherwise, than upon paper. The splendor of Petrarch's lot showed, that he had not much offended his age by lessons of too exalted virtue and piety. Dante's exiled fate and far off tomb speak better things for his purity and independence, and among other circumstances favor the idea, now gaining ground, that the father of Italian poetry has been the herald of modern light and liberty, the morning-star of the Great Reformation. He was in advance of his age, and saw and declared its corruption, — political, religious, and moral: —

"Beholding with the dark eye of a seer,
The evil days to gifted souls foreshown,
Foretelling them to those, who will not hear,
As in the old time, till the hour be come,
When truth shall strike their eyes through many a tear,
And make them own the prophet in his tomb."

S. O.

G. E. Ellis.

ART. III. — *The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.* By the Rev. H. H. MILMAN, Prebendary of St. Peter's and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1840. pp. 460, 481, 592.

HE, who makes the reading of Ecclesiastical History a pleasant and inviting pursuit, accomplishes a great work, and will receive high praise. No other literary employment, which is necessary to inform succeeding generations, and to prepare them for their individual duties, demands such hard study, of such uninviting books, as that of perusing the annals of the

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Church. Yet the most superficial reader or thinker will admit that our faith must have a history, which, if well told, in transparent language, with a discreet and elevated judgment, and a philosophy not trammelled by a predetermined purpose, would yield in its power to interest, to no other employment of the pen. This conviction, in which we have always had great confidence, has acquired additional strength as we have read page after page of Mr. Milman's history. It marks an era in Ecclesiastical literature with which his name ought to be associated. We cheerfully accord to him the praise, not only of having converted what was once a hideous task, into a pleasant and inviting employment of time, but of having written the early history of our religion under the influence of the best principles and virtues of that religion. The spirit of true charity, admitting the mixture of good with bad, and searching for the good resolutely and cheerfully, and maintaining it in spite of some temptations to deny it, breathes throughout his work. His three volumes furnish the evidence that he is a Christian minister, it is only from their title-pages that we should be led to know him as the disciple and the teacher of any particular sect in that body which he regards as one.

Mr. Milman was well prepared for a faithful and a cautious treatment of his present subject by his former labors, the fruits of which are now before the public, — the History of the Jews, and a new Edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Christianity, at its first appearance in the world, was so associated with Judaism, that a thorough examination of the history and character of that faith, and of the people who professed it, is essential to the Christian historian. The Gospel was first preached when the Roman power was universal; early in its progress it found antagonists in the imperial majesty of the city, and in the delegated authority of the provinces. For a brief period, Christianity, favored by the individual interest of an Emperor, the protection of the state, and the enthusiasm of the multitude, seemed to be identified with the universal success and sway of the Roman arms. But soon the faith began to be mightier than its protector; it dared to resist the successors of its imperial friend; it made its own cause distinct from, and then superior to the civil power; and when anarchy and barbarian inroads dissolved and dismembered the empire, Christianity appeared safe and vigorous amid the decline and fall of that state, before which the whole world had

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stood in awe. In perusing Mr. Milman's History of Christianity, the influence which his accurate knowledge of the fortunes of Rome, and especially of his careful and distrustful examination of Gibbon's unworthy perversities has had upon his judgment and opinions, is very apparent. Without any implied reflections upon our author's previous fitness for this his last task, we venture to conclude, that an Ecclesiastical historian could pass through no discipline better calculated to free him from many of the errors of Christian annalists, credulity and superstition, illiberality and narrowness of judgment, than the study of the "Infidel Historian," the vices of whose book are in general only counterparts of ecclesiastical infirmities, prejudices, and falsehoods. There are two points of view from which the character and contents of the history before us will be regarded by those who shall criticise it. The religious partisan will open the volumes for one purpose, the sincere and unbiassed searcher after truth will peruse them for another purpose. They have one aspect in reference to the great schism introduced by the Oxford party in the English Church, and another aspect as they will be read by readers, who never heard of the Oxford party, and who do not care one straw for the interests of any religious party. In England, we suppose that Mr. Milman's work will be criticised chiefly as it bears upon the disputes, already so voluminously urged between the Evangelical and the Papistical parties (so called) in the established Church. The former party cannot but love and praise the history. The latter will lament its sad deficiencies, its faint praise of Ante-Nicene doctrines and usages, and its manifest want of sympathy with those reformers in faith and discipline who point behind rather than before. To us these volumes are interesting as containing what their title-pages say they do contain, a History of Christianity during its first three centuries. We have sectarian histories of the same subject, and during the same period, in abundance, written with a preconceived attachment to one narrow set of doctrines, and with the single purpose of promoting the interest of a religious party. We have learned to avoid such irreligious volumes upon religious subjects; they have been the ruin of the faith of thousands, and never, since the world was made, have they imparted to any mind the light or strength or peace of such a belief as the Saviour would have approved. We can commend the volumes before us as containing a thorough examination of the religious history of the world at its most interesting epoch.

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The religious history of our race is its longest history. The Sabbath, either on the first or the seventh day, is the oldest institution of human society; the purpose, for which it is consecrated, far exceeds in its antiquity every other purpose, which brings men together. No succession of temporal monarchs is so long as that of the Popes of Rome; no books can compare in antiquity with the Scriptures; there is no more ancient code of laws than the ten commandments. Would we know all the influences, operations, and evidences of religious truths, we must acquaint ourselves with the history of the whole world, in all time. In the very antiquity of Christian doctrines and ordinances, in the length of time, during which they have been known in the world, we are to find many arguments and illustrations of our common faith.

The history of the Christian Church is, in some respects, the most dull and disheartening of all histories. It begins, indeed, with the clear, bright, and perfect pages of the New Testament, which pass a withering rebuke upon all fraud and passion, which alike frown upon all animosities between disciples of different names, and utterly discountenance the use of power in extending its influence. It requires all the cheerfulness and faith, which one can gather from its own pages, to toil through the history of its warfare with human passion, to see it now oppressed, and now enforced by the sword, and to read of its hard contests with the weakest and the strongest of human agencies, attested at the stake of the martyr, or hazarded in the ravings of the enthusiast. True, if we open the New Testament, we find that all this corruption was foreseen by the Saviour, and calmly predicted by him as one of the trials, through which his religion must pass. And so we read the history, not wholly disheartened, but reflecting, that, though the history is sad, Christianity has not battled with one error, it has not triumphed over a single wrong, without writing, as with the finger of the living God, the laws of eternal truth and righteousness. There is always something to try the faith of a believer in Christianity, in the present aspect which society may offer to him, and his faith can find no better support than the history of the past will afford him, when by study and thought he has made it his own experience.

A peaceful confidence in the heart's best solace comes with the remembrance of that long conflict, which truth has endured. How calmly and winningly its invitations have always ad-

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dressed themselves to the human soul; how untiring has been its struggle; how sure its triumph. We remember to have felt this confidence in its fullest measure, while studying an ancient painting, preserved with reverent care through an almost forgotten length of time, in one of the oldest churches in Italy. The painting represented the youthful Jesus reasoning with the doctors. The selection of such a scene at so early a time, (for the painting is said to be nearly a thousand years old,) when the more beautiful and delicate traits of Christian doctrine were but partially apprehended, is an evidence, in itself, that the human heart has an instinctive perception of the advantage which truth possesses, however feeble its instrument, against all opposers, however numerous and powerful. And the scene, which thus early employed the skill of a Christian artist, tells and enforces its own beautiful story, though the colors which display it are faded by time, and the figures on the canvass are wanting in grace and proportion. Truth, in the countenance of its youthful teacher, is calm and sincere. His gentle eyes, which look their thoughts, express in earnest confidence the fixed purpose of his soul. His calmness is the assurance of his triumph. The disturbed and severe countenances of the questioning doctors, are furrowed with age, but they lack the composure of true wisdom. They glance hastily from each other to the youthful pleader before them, as if they wanted confidence in themselves, and were ashamed to repose it in him. He was one, and they were many. They had the authority of place, and age, and law; his inward purpose and his tender years were his sole means for enforcing his words. They had disciples; he, as yet, had none. They could command an army to their aid; he would not have accepted, for he could not have been benefited by a single arm raised in violence. Yet, who can behold the scene, and doubt with whom shall be the victory?

Christian history is but a larger exemplification of that scene in the Temple, between the single, unfriended teacher of truth, and the many powerful teachers of error. Jesus excelled the teachers of the law, as truth excels error, by authority. They expounded what was written; he gave the reason why it was written. He carried truth back to its author, and forward to its triumph. He knew its beginning and its end, and, therefore, its midway course was as clear to his eyes, as was the path between the rising and the meridian sun. Such is the

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history of Christianity in the world, — to one who will make himself familiar with its struggles. He knows that its beginning was in light, and that its end will be in light, and no cloud upon its course, no contest in its path, will long darken its light. He will follow out, in Christian history, as upon a map, the travels of truth, from the land in which, at first, it had not where to lay its head, till temples were dedicated to its honor, and it began to secure the more real homage of human hearts.

We value Mr. Milman's history, because, in our view, it is planned by this rule of faith, and is pervaded by a Christian spirit of patience and hope; and because the perusal of it leaves upon the mind an impression, that the Deity has vindicated in the world the Gospel of his Son. There are two prominent characteristics of the work before us, which entitle it to commendation, and make it valuable to its readers. These characteristics we must describe as almost peculiar to it; at any rate, whatever praise we may lavish upon former ecclesiastical histories, would not attach to them, on account of what we consider the two general excellencies of Mr. Milman's work. First, he has no particular theory to support, no single sect or party to favor. He does not labor, page after page, to give to every incident which he details, and to every opinion which he utters, the coloring of his own creed. The capacity of his mind admits of the reception of more than one idea. He does not call hard names, nor use offensive epithets. He has often most scrupulously avoided disturbing that dust of the theological arena, which, when once slightly moved, rushes up in dense volumes, filling the eyes and ears, and never settles down again without soiling all, who have been either combatants, or spectators. Going up, as he does, to the very fountain head of the waters of strife, he is satisfied with admitting that all have equally partaken of them. As he has thus traced the various perversions of true Christian doctrine to their beginnings, he has been able to mitigate the censures, which we have been wont to pass upon the full grown abuses now prevalent in Christendom, by ascribing them to the inventions of mistaken zeal, to good purposes making use of bad instruments, or to the half enlightened ignorance of sudden converts. That a fair representation of the History of Christianity may be made, without being confined to the interests of a single sect, is an encouraging proof that a deeper feeling than mere party spirit is excited in the faithful study of Christian records. Such a

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representation of the annals of our faith alone can invest them with a true dignity, and make some amends for the melancholy details, which, after charity has done its best, must still appear.

Another characteristic of Mr. Milman's history is its searching examination and perfectly natural exhibition of those incidents, which, from their supposed holy character, have often been left in uncertainty, or treated with timid reverence by former writers. The infection of the early pious frauds seemed to have fixed itself upon ecclesiastical historians. But Mr. Milman makes the progress, the incidents, and the whole cast of his history, subsequent to the apostolic times, perfectly natural. He will not admit visionary agents to utter a word, or play a part, here and there, and then disappear, when they are sought after. Monkish legends have been thought very profuse in the number of their saints, but their saints seem to have been outnumbered by their angels. The credulity of the generations before our own was not at all staggered by the "thundering legion," nor by the readiest solution of a "nodus vindice dignus," in the supposition of angels and devils performing parts, the true agents of which, if not more real, were more visible. How many trivial and nonsensical narratives have been repeated, again and again, in Christian histories, without any attempt being made to clear them up, because their successive historians have felt a timidity in questioning anything which has long been believed. Mr. Milman never leaves these matters in doubt; nor does he neglect to pierce and question them, lest he should intrude upon sacred premises. He feels bound to show the gradual progress of innovation and error, and has his eyes open to see that alleged miracles, in the early church, are the most numerous and the most false, just where we might suppose they would be, when there was a large multitude, who might be readily deceived, and when the stern integrity of apostolic times had given place to an easy discipleship, and to a sinister profession of the faith. Our author makes as broad a distinction in his work, as he does in words, between "the firm and solid ground of authentic and credible history, and the quaking and insecure footing of legendary tradition."

With this general recommendation of the volumes before us, we will say something of their plan, and of a few particulars of their contents.

The Preface informs us that the present work is only the commencement of a complete history, in which the author de-

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signs to follow the fortunes of the Church down to the period, when Europe re-awakened from its deep slumber. He praises the unwearied industry, the boldness, sagacity, and impartiality in historical criticism, displayed by the Germans, while he feels no timidity at their rash and absurd speculations. On points of doctrine and discipline, so earnestly debated at the present time in his own Church of England, he says, he has written "as if in total ignorance of the existence of such discussions." He does not adopt the common and most unnatural division of ecclesiastical history into centuries, heresies, persecutions, &c., by which the narrative has lost much of its best interest, and all of its own self-explanation by its consecutive incidents. We see reasons for his beginning and ending a chapter where he does, and putting the life and character of an emperor as the title of one, and the great prelates of the West, as the title of another. Three volumes for three centuries may appear at first to threaten too mighty a task; but when they have been perused, we mourn no expense in the labor. A work of this kind must have an introduction, and a close, and these necessarily involve much discussion. The state, in which Christianity found the world, and the state in which, with its light darkened and its truth but half realized, it was left to the slumber of ages, must both be exhibited. The first volume contains an introductory chapter, a life of Christ, and a philosophical examination of the early struggle between Christianity and Judaism. The condition and varieties of pagan religion and philosophy at that remarkable epoch in the history of the world, which is marked by the reign of Augustus Cæsar, furnish the themes for a fair exhibition of the necessity and claims of a pure faith. The whole human race was united under one social system. The Romans civilized the nations which they conquered, and when commodious roads and a free navigation united the most distant parts of the empire, and universal peace facilitated intercourse, Christianity appeared, first offering to the world a common faith in place of the national religions, which before were content with their several narrow territories. The Roman Pantheon had brought the gods of all nations together in an amicable synod, and there Polytheism introduced its discordant elements. Christianity proclaimed itself the religion of every rank and race, and diffused a gentle heat, which promised to fuse all these elements into one bond of union. The influence of the old Nature-Worship, and of the poets and priests of pa-

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ganism, was merely sentimental; the religion of Rome was political and military, though it contained a stronger moral element than the religion of Greece. The Romans made their gods by deifying their virtues. Judaism preserved inviolate its sacred secret; its highest trait was the manifest indication which it offered, that it was only the type of a faith more truly spiritual, into which it was to be expanded. The progress of knowledge and civilization undoubtedly softened and purified the old religions, but it was fatal to their longer influence. In peace, the Roman gods found that "their occupation was gone." The mysteries were the last hope of paganism. Philosophy became the substitute for religion, and proved itself to be even more deficient. Its proficients were affected by it only while they were disputing about it, and the mass of men received from it as little light or heat as does our earth from the comets. Even poetry ceased to be religious. On a sudden, men looked around them, and found Christianity in the world. It had come, "neither in the strong wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice." It at once made the highest truths of religion popular, simple, and spiritual. How this religion began its gigantic task, developed its energies, combatted its opponents, lived and flourished in spite of unwise friends, and earned the empire which it can never lose, Mr. Milman then proceeds to describe.

His Life of Jesus Christ, which is given in this volume, is introduced by some brief reflections upon the moral, social, and political state of Judea, and the forms which the general expectation of the Messiah had taken among the people. The foreign relations of the Jews, the influence which had been exerted upon their religion by the philosophy of their neighbors, are adverted to. The Life of Christ is made up from the four evangelical narratives, harmonized according to the theory, that his public ministry was extended through three years. Illustrative information is drawn from the natural history of Judea, and from pagan writers. We admire the combination of discreet caution with liberal criticism, by which the perplexities of the narrative are cleared up, while its sanctity is reverently respected. Natural means he does not hesitate to admit in some cases, where there is full liberty to suppose them, as far as the authority of the narrative is concerned, though many writers are too willing to clothe some incidents in mystery, which do not necessarily imply miraculous agency.

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Thus in reference to the pool of Bethesda, Mr. Milman says, "At certain periods there was a strong commotion in the waters, which probably bubbled up from some chemical cause connected with their medicinal effects. Popular belief, or rather perhaps, popular language, attributed this agitation of the surface to the descent of an angel; for of course, the regular descent of a celestial being, visible to the whole city, cannot for an instant be supposed." (Vol. I. p. 215.) So also with regard to the Dæmoniacs, Mr. Milman agrees with all learned modern writers in considering them as persons afflicted with mental maladies. (Vol. I. p. 234.) The incidental information, which is to be found in this Life, gives to it a value independent of its relation to the History which it introduces. More than any other narrative of the Saviour's ministry, which we have read, it makes all the scenes and events of his life realities to us. His character is individualized; those to whom he spoke, and the scenes through which he passed, are brought before us, so that his words receive a double beauty and power from their manifest appropriateness. This part of Mr. Milman's task was the most difficult. He is obliged very frequently to interrupt the thread of the narrative to account for some Jewish prejudice, and to show why the words of Jesus failed to convince his opponents. The animosities and the party feelings, which divided the Jews both into religious and political sects, did not lessen the difficulties that presented themselves to the Saviour; for Pharisee and Sadducee, Galilean and Herodian, Samaritan and Jew, rulers and common people, in their mutual strife created new obstacles for him. There was a system in his teaching, a progressive unfolding of the true nature of his religion, partly accommodated to the prejudices which he encountered, partly the natural means for securing final though slow success. This system and progress can be exactly traced out by any attentive study of the Gospels, and is the best process for attaining a worthy idea of the Saviour's character. The plain and searching criticism of the Gospel narratives, which Mr. Milman thus institutes, is in strange contrast with the eccentric speculations of Strauss, whose wild fancies are temperately animadverted upon in an appendix to one of our author's chapters. The absolute impossibility of resolving the sacred narratives into legends, appears upon every page of the work before us.

The fate of Christianity seemed to be sealed at the death of

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its author. His religion seemed to be buried with him in an eternal tomb. The resurrection, which restored him to life, was the doctrine and the fact, which again filled Jerusalem, and by degrees the whole world with the name of the despised Nazarene. Christianity was again offered, first to the Jew, and then to the Gentile; and the rulers, who had spent their cruelty in vain, were enraged at the boldness of those who dared to preach the glorified state, the universal empire of their innocent victim.

The following passage is a fair specimen of the philosophical views with which the history is interspersed.

"The calm inquirer into the history of human nature, as displayed in the existing records of our race, if unhappily disinclined to receive the Christian faith as a divine revelation, must nevertheless behold in this point of time the crisis, and in this circumstance the governing principle, of the destinies of mankind during many centuries of their most active and fertile development. A new race of passions was introduced into the political arena, as well as into the individual heart, or rather the natural and universal passions were enlisted in the service of more absorbing and momentous interests. The fears and hopes by which man is governed took a wider range, embracing the future life, in many respects with as much, or even stronger, energy and intenseness than the present. The stupendous dominion erected by the Church, the great characteristic feature of modern history, rested almost entirely on this basis; it ruled as possessing an inherent power over the destiny of the soul in a future world. It differed in this primary principle of its authority from the sacerdotal castes of antiquity. The latter rested their influence on hereditary claims to superiority over the rest of mankind; and though they dealt sometimes, more or less largely, in the terrors and hopes of another state of being, especially in defence of their own power and privileges, theirs was a kind of mixed aristocracy of birth and priestcraft. But if this new and irresistible power lent itself, in certain stages of society, to human ambition, and as a stern and inflexible lictor, bowed down the whole mind of man to the fasces of a spiritual tyranny, it must likewise be contemplated in its far wider and more lasting, though perhaps less imposing character, as the parent of all which is purifying, ennobling, unselfish in Christian civilization; as a principle of every humanizing virtue which philosophy must ever want; of self-sacrifice, to which the patriotism of antiquity shrinks into a narrow and national feeling: and as introducing a doctrine of equality as sublime, as it

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is without danger to the necessary gradations which must exist in human society. Since the promulgation of Christianity, the immortality of the soul, and its inseparable consequence, future retribution, have not only been assumed by the legislator as the basis of all political institutions, but the general mind has been brought into such complete unison with the spirit of the laws so founded, that the individual repugnance to the principle has been constantly overborne by the general predominant sentiment. In some periods it has seemed to survive the religion on which it was founded. Wherever, at all events, it operates upon the individual or social mind, wherever it is even tacitly admitted and assented to by the prevalent feeling of minkind, it must be traced to the profound influence which Christianity has, at least at one time, exercised over the inner nature of man. This was the moral revolution which set into activity, before unprecedented, and endowed with vitality, till then unknown, this great ruling agent in the history of the world.

"Still, however, as though almost unconscious of the future effects of this event, the narratives of the Evangelists as they approach this crisis in their own, as well as in the destinies of man, preserve their serene and unimpassioned flow. Each follows his own course, with precisely that discrepancy which might be expected among inartificial writers relating the same event, without any mutual understanding or reference to each other's work, but all with the same equable and unexalted tone." — Vol. I. pp. 373 – 375.

The enemies of the new faith were now ranged in three ranks, all prepared for the battle, and ready to use every weapon, whether honorable or base, in dispute of each inch of ground over which Christianity steadily advanced in spite of them all. Judaism, Paganism, and Orientalism, presented themselves in opposition to Christianity, when it aspired as an universal religion to the complete moral conquest of the world. Mr. Milman devotes a chapter to a broad survey of the contest, waged by Christianity with each of these opposing forces, and the three chapters taken together exhibit the proof of much study and thought, and of a philosophic survey of his subject.

Christianity was at first preached by Jews, and addressed to Jews; and thus it was at first limited, exclusive, and national. One of the most interesting and most sincere traits of character observable in the Apostolic narratives, is found in that honest representation, which they make of the gradual enlargement of the views of the first preachers and converts. The horizon of

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the Apostles, as Mr. Milman beautifully describes it, gradually receded, and instead of resting on the borders of the Holy Land, comprehended at length the whole world. Judaism opposed Christianity with a double conflict, first with external authority, with the power of its Temple, its Synagogues, and its Sanhedrin; second, with the lurking prejudices and opinions which the early converts brought with them from the Mosaic ritual into the new profession. The Jewish Christian was alarmed, when the Gospel was offered to the proselytes of the gate; but his anger and amazement were excessive, when he beheld it offered to the Gentiles, the very swine. But Paul and Barnabas were the new instruments for the new occasions. The beautiful narrative of Peter and Cornelius has a simple sincerity which attests its truth. Among the Jews scattered over Asia Minor, and the neighboring islands, wherever there were Jews, the Gospel was first offered to them, and in spite of their bitter opposition, it was next preached to the Gentiles. The first Christian council, held at Jerusalem, A. D. 49, and described in the Acts of the Apostles, set an example which the Church would have done well had it more closely imitated. How dignified and heroic does the character of St. Paul appear in the narrative of his journeys, in his discreet but consistent conduct, in his fortitude and his forbearance, in his plea at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and Rome. The martyrdom of James was one of the last acts which confirmed the hostility of Judaism. The protracted war and the destruction of the city and of the temple sealed its fate, and removed the shackles from Christianity. The alienation between Jew and Christian became more complete. Each synagogue henceforward became a temple. While the old and the new faith were thus dissevered, Christianity had been already crippled by the adoption of many Jewish tenets. A strong party in the Church demanded that the ancient law should be honored, and against this heresy Paul resolutely opposed himself, especially by an elaborate argument in the Epistle to the Romans. The notion of the immediate destruction of the world, at the second coming of Christ, extensively prevailed. Gentile proselytes soon began greatly to outnumber those of Jewish descent. The Christians chose Marcus, a Gentile convert, as their Bishop in Jerusalem, and then was fixed upon the Jew that mark of obloquy, that deep stigma of scorn, which has thought no insult or suffering too severe for the descendants of those, who imprecated the blood of Jesus upon themselves and their children.

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"The conflict of Christianity with Judaism was a civil war; that with paganism, the invasion and conquest of a foreign territory." Christianity contemplated the expansion of Judaism on its own primary principles, but it aimed at the total subversion of paganism. Not only the general system of Polytheism, but the tutelar deities of every nation and village were to be overthrown. The whole life of the heathen was pervaded by his religion; it presented itself in all civil and military affairs, in the Senate and the camp, by the domestic hearth, and at the altars of his ancestral gods, on land and water, upon his household utensils, and his drinking cup; his language was made up of allusions to his religion. The Jew could become a Christian by a slight change of dress, and a larger license in his food, by calling his synagogue a church, and recognising a few more sacred books. Beyond the borders of Palestine, Christianity first came into direct collision with paganism. The narrative of the Acts paints most vividly some of the early encounters, among which the description of Paul at Athens is the most striking. At Ephesus, the self-interest of the artisans in silver shrines, and small models of the temple of Diana, united with the religious zeal of the populace to raise an uproar. The miraculous agency exercised by Christian apostles was opposed by Jewish and heathen exorcists. The burning of Rome was the occasion of the first open persecution of the Christians by pagan authority. Nero, the supposed incendiary, made some of the despised sect to serve as scape-goats for the fury of the people, and, as a profane historian informs us, the Christians were worried by dogs, and being rolled in sheets saturated with pitch, were set on fire by night to illumine the remnant of the city. As we have lately had occasion to observe in this journal, Mr. Milman thinks that the people were prepared to allow and inflict this dire cruelty against the new sect, from some incautious or frantic predictions, which the excited sufferers may have allowed themselves to utter, on beholding the Babylon of the West in flames. Tradition fixes the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome, in the year of our Lord 66, but there is no sufficient proof that Peter ever visited the city. From this date, down to the accession of Constantine, Christianity made rapid progress, which was in a measure aided by the political character of the period, which did not trouble itself with far off and contingent dangers, nor lay systematic plans of persecution. The possibility, that Christianity would ever subvert the proud

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polytheism of the race that had conquered the earth, was never for one moment conceived of, and the slow but insinuating process, by which the gigantic revolution was effected, passed unobserved, till the result burst like a flash of sharp lightning upon the amazed multitude. The death of St. John closes the first Christian century, and now we first meet with regularly organized bodies of Christians, under the name of churches, whose original constitution, so much disputed, Mr. Milman does not authoritatively settle, though of course he inclines to the opinion of his communion. Though there was an essential difference between the church and the synagogue, the latter was the model of the former. A church was formed around an individual, an apostle, elder, or primitive teacher. The authority of the bishop, overseer, or elder, was that of influence, rather than of power. Episcopal government, Mr. Milman asserts, was then essentially popular, the acclamation of the people, both nominating and approving the candidate, whose eminent piety and virtue designated him for the post. The creation, the power, and the distinctions of a hierarchy, are matters which never can be extricated from the controversy, nor from the darkness in which they are involved.

The third opponent of Christianity presented itself in the multiform phantom of Orientalism, the mystic and shadowy faith and philosophy of the Asiatic nations. Palestine, situated as it was in a centre, all around which the imaginative cosmognomies of the East prevailed, was admirably calculated for the birth-place of a new religion. The impersonation of the creation, and of every element and energy of nature, was the basis of Oriental Pantheism. The doctrine of the malignity of matter, and its continual opposition to the spirit of life and goodness, was the parent of asceticism, which in turn gave birth to celibacy. Christianity, in opposing Orientalism, took from it a deep coloring. Under the form of gnosticism, the religion of the Gospels made many converts; Cerinthus being the first to incorporate orientalism with Christianity. The Old and the New Testaments were both bent to the subserviency of those abstruse and mystical speculations concerning matter and spirit, which amused or awed the meditative dreamers in Eastern solitudes. Thus originated some new aberrations from primitive Christianity. The dreamy indolence of mysticism, and the stern asceticism of the wilderness, became incorporated with the Gospel faith. Christianity thus passed through its first century,

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with its simplicity and purity much affected by the underworking of the elements of former systems.

But the new faith was still hidden in obscurity. Its profession appeared, and was subject to danger and persecution, principally when its disciples absented themselves from the public amusements, and the occasions of national rejoicings. The characters of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, emperors from A. D. 98 to A. D. 161, were in a measure favorable to the advancement of Christianity. They were men of large minds, occupied with the interests of the whole empire. Under Marcus Aurelius, the empire began to exhibit those symptoms of failing integrity and security, which are undoubtedly, in some measure, to be attributed to Christianity. He was hostile to the faith, both from his own character and from circumstances; but he did not choose to discern the power and beauty of its lessons. Christian martyrdoms now became numerous, and the doctrine is slowly winning its way amid giant obstacles, to the hearts of men. From A. D. 180 to A. D. 284, between Commodus and Dioclesian, there was a rapid succession of emperors. Christianity had now emerged, "from safe and despicable obscurity, to dangerous and obnoxious importance." The keen sight of a jealous government detected its influence in thinning the crowds attendant upon the sacrifices. A long line of military adventurers, often strangers to the name, the race, and the language of Rome, held, for a brief period, the sceptre of the world. While the government, during the inroads of sedition and anarchy, had recourse to temporary expedients, Christianity was strengthening itself beyond the power of despotism. The persecutions which it suffered were hasty exhibitions of vindictiveness and animosity, not the efforts of a deliberate policy. In Africa, Christianity was taking a deep root. Its apologists no longer speak the language of humble expostulation, but of scorn and menace. The story of the martyrdom of the two African females, Perpetua and Felicitas, is unincumbered with miracles, and abounds in exquisite touches of truth and reality. Alexander Severus, A. D. 222, admitted Christ among his household deities, Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana. Christian bishops began to be admitted at the court, in their official dignity. Christianity could no longer be described, by the character which heretofore had made it so inexplicable to the pagan, as a religion without a temple, for its sacred structures began to appear in city and

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suburb. Where the faith did not subvert paganism, it exercised a good influence upon it by reforming it, and making it more serious. But Christianity had now become an hereditary faith, descending from those who had first embraced it from ardent convictions, to those who beheld it when its lustre was dimmed. Here the Christian writers begin to deplore the failure of genuine principles.

Paganism gathered up its energies for one more contest, in the bloody persecution under Dioclesian, who began his empire, A. D. 284. That his edicts should be resisted, and treated with scorn, that the sufferers should turn equal-handed on their tormentors, and boldly endure the trial, and flinch not when its severest agonies were heaped upon them, attests the progress which the faith of the humble teacher of Judea had made, in less than one-half of the time, during which the physical power of Rome had attained its gigantic energy.

Mr. Milman's account of the conversion of Constantine, of the motives which mingled in his wavering policy, and of the good and evil influence which he exerted upon the interests of Christianity, is candid, and deeply interesting. He makes no attempt to glorify the first Christian emperor, nor to wash over the atrocious enormities which stain his memory. Whatever redeeming testimony may be adduced in his favor, Mr. Milman has fairly left us at liberty to decide, from the thorough analysis, which he has given us, of the life and character of the founder of Constantinople.

The first Christian emperor was thoroughly and zealously a pagan, up to the time of his contest with Maxentius. The following extract from Mr. Milman, exhibits his judicious treatment of the alleged miraculous token, which led to the conversion of Constantine.

"The scene, in which the memorable vision of Constantine is laid, varies widely in the different accounts. Several places in Gaul lay claim to the honor of this momentous event in Christian history. If we assume the most probable period for such an occurrence, whatever explanation we adopt of the vision itself, it would be at this awful crisis in the destiny of Constantine and of the world, before the walls of Rome; an instant when, if we could persuade ourselves that the Almighty Ruler, *in such a manner*, interposed to proclaim the fall of Paganism and the establishment of Christianity, it would have been a public and a solemn occasion, worthy of the Divine interference. Nowhere,

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on the other hand, was the high-wrought imagination of Constantine so likely to be seized with religious awe, and to transform some extraordinary appearance in the heavens into the sign of the prevailing Deity of Christ; nowhere, lastly, would policy more imperiously require some strong religious impulse to counterbalance the hostile terrors of Paganism, embattled against him.

"Eusebius, the Bishop of Cæsarea, asserts that Constantine himself made, and confirmed by an oath, the extraordinary statement, which was received with implicit veneration during many ages of Christianity, but which the severer judgment of modern historical inquiry has called in question, investigated with the most searching accuracy, and almost universally destroyed its authority with rational men, yet, it must be admitted, found no satisfactory explanation of its origin. While Constantine was meditating in grave earnestness the claims of the rival religions, on one hand the awful fate of those who had persecuted Christianity, on the other the necessity of some divine assistance to counteract the magical incantations of his enemy, he addressed his prayers to the One great Supreme. On a sudden, a short time after noon, appeared a bright cross in the heavens, just above the sun, with this inscription, 'By this conquer.' Awe seized himself and the whole army, who were witnesses of the wonderful phenomenon. But of the signification of the vision, Constantine was altogether ignorant. Sleep fell upon his harassed mind, and during his sleep Christ himself appeared, and enjoined him to make a banner in the shape of that celestial sign, under which his arms would be forever crowned with victory.

"Constantine immediately commanded the famous labarum to be made, — the labarum, which, for a long time, was borne at the head of the imperial armies, and venerated as a sacred relic at Constantinople. The shaft of this celebrated standard was cased with gold; above the transverse beam, which formed the cross, was wrought in a golden crown the monogram, or rather the device of two letters, which signified the name of Christ. And so, for the first time, the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle; and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of bloody strife.

"This irreconcilable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgment, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction. Yet the admission of Christianity, not merely as a controlling power, and the most effective auxiliary of civil government, (an office not unbecoming its divine origin,) but as the animating principle of barbarous warfare, argues at once the

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commanding influence which it had obtained over the human mind, as well as its degeneracy from its pure and spiritual origin. The unimpeached and unquestioned authority of this miracle, during so many centuries, shows how completely, in the association which took place between barbarism and Christianity, the former maintained its predominance. This was the first advance to the military Christianity of the Middle Ages, a modification of the pure religion of the Gospel, if directly opposed to its genuine principles, still apparently indispensable to the social progress of men; through which the Roman Empire and the barbarous nations, which were blended together in the vast European and Christian system, must necessarily have passed, before they could arrive at a higher civilization and a purer Christianity.

"The fate of Rome and of Paganism was decided in the battle of the Milvian Bridge; the eventual result was the establishment of the Christian empire. But to Constantine himself, if at this time Christianity had obtained any hold upon his mind, it was now the Christianity of the warrior, as subsequently it was that of the statesman. It was the military commander, who availed himself of the assistance of any tutelar divinity, who might insure success to his daring enterprise.

"Christianity, in its higher sense, appeared neither in the acts nor in the decrees of the victorious Constantine, after the defeat of Maxentius. Though his general conduct was tempered with a wise clemency, yet the execution of his enemies, and the barbarous death of the infant son of Maxentius, still showed the same relentless disposition which had exposed the barbarian chieftains, whom he had taken in his successful campaign beyond the Rhine, in the arena at Treves. The Emperor still maintained the same proud superiority over the conflicting religions of the empire, which afterwards appeared at the foundation of the new metropolis. Even in the labarum, if the initiated eyes of the Christian soldiery could discern the sacred symbol of Christ indistinctly glittering above the cross, there appeared, either embossed on the beam below, or embroidered on the square purple banner which depended from it, the bust of the Emperor and those of his family, to whom the heathen part of his army might pay their homage of veneration. Constantine, though he does not appear to have ascended to the Capitol, to pay his homage and to offer sacrifice to Jupiter the best and greatest, and the other tutelary deities of Rome, in general the first act of a victorious emperor, yet did not decline to attend the sacred games."—Vol. II. pp. 351–356.

In the concluding chapter of the second volume, we have an account of the Trinitarian controversy, in which the author

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exhibits unusual superiority to common uncharitableness. There is also a brief examination of the influences, both favorable and unfavorable, which were exerted upon Christianity, by its legal establishment.

Under the sons of Constantine, the same passion and strife, which had heretofore been expended in the contest between Christianity and paganism, was worse than wasted in the disputes between Arians and Trinitarians. We have heard the origin of Unitarianism ascribed to the instrumentality of Socinus, and even of Priestley. It would be well for those, who display such lamentable ignorance, to study the history of its early struggles, and to read Mr. Milman's narrative of its alternate victories and defeats.

The name of Julian the Apostate, Emperor from 361 to 363, calls to mind the futile endeavor of expiring paganism to rise up, even as the equal of Christianity. Julian was educated under the worst of all influences for making him a Christian. He had many noble traits of character, and a master mind. The paganism, which he sought so unsuccessfully to restore, was not the soulless, breathless form, which the world, under Christian influence, had outgrown; but a nobler system, which Christianity itself had suggested to his imagination. We extract the following paragraphs, as separate features of the complete delineation of the Emperor Julian.

"Amidst all this intestine strife within the pale of Christianity, and this conflict between the civil and religious authorities, concerning their respective limits, Paganism made a desperate effort to regain its lost supremacy. Julian has, perhaps, been somewhat unfairly branded with the ill-sounding name of Apostate. His Christianity was but the compulsory obedience of youth to the distasteful lessons of education, enforced by the hateful authority of a tyrannical relative. As early as the maturity of his reason, — at least, as soon as he dared to reveal his secret sentiments, — he avowed his preference for the ancient Paganism." — Vol. III. p. 49.

"On the other hand, Christianity, at no period, could appear in a less amiable and attractive light to a mind preindisposed to its reception. It was in a state of universal fierce and implacable discord; the chief cities of the empire had run with blood shed in religious quarrels. The sole object of the conflicting parties seemed to be to confine to themselves the temporal and spiritual blessings of the faith; to exclude as many as they might from that eternal life, and to anathematize to that eternal death,

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which were revealed by the Gospel, and placed, according to the general belief, under the special authority of the clergy. Society seemed to be split up into irreconcilable parties; to the animosities of Pagan and Christian, were now added those of Christian and Christian. Christianity had passed through its earlier period of noble moral enthusiasm; of the energy with which it addressed its first proclamation of its doctrines to man; of the dignity with which it stood aloof from the intrigues and vices of the world; and of its admirable constancy under persecution. It had not fully attained its second state as a religion generally established in the minds of men, by a dominant hierarchy of unquestioned authority. Its great truths had no longer the striking charm of novelty; nor were they yet universally and profoundly implanted in the general mind by hereditary transmission, or early education, and ratified by the unquestioning sanction of ages.

"The early education of Julian had been, it might almost appear, studiously and skilfully conducted, so as to show the brighter side of Paganism, the darker of Christianity. His infant years had been clouded by the murder of his father. How far his mind might retain any impression of this awful event, or remembrance of the place of his refuge, the Christian church, or the savior of his life, the virtuous Bishop of Arethusa, it is of course impossible to conjecture." — Vol. III. pp. 54, 55.

"Julian so entirely misapprehended Christianity, as to attribute its success and influence to its internal organization, rather than to its internal authority over the soul of man. He thought that the religion grew out of the sacerdotal power, not that the sacerdotal power was but the vigorous development of the religion. He fondly supposed that the imperial edict, and the authority of the government, could supply the place of profound religious sentiment, and transform the whole Pagan priesthood, whether attached to the dissolute worship of the East, the elegant ceremonial of Greece, or the graver ritual of Rome, into a serious, highly moral, and blameless hierarchy. The emperor was to be at once the supreme head, and the model of this new sacerdotal order. The sagacious mind of Julian might have perceived the dangerous power, growing up in the Christian episcopate, which had already encroached upon the imperial authority, and began to divide the allegiance of the world. His political apprehensions may have concurred with his religious animosities, in not merely endeavoring to check the increase of this power, but in desiring to concentrate again in the imperial person both branches of authority. The supreme pontificate of paganism had indeed passed quietly down with the rest of the im-

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perial titles and functions. But the interference of the Christian emperors in ecclesiastical affairs had been met with resistance, obeyed only with sullen reluctance, or but in deference to the strong arm of power. The doubtful issue of the conflict between the emperor and his religious antagonist, might awaken reasonable alarm for the majesty of the empire. If, on the other hand, Julian should succeed in reorganizing the pagan priesthood in efficiency, respect, and that moral superiority, which now belonged to the Christian ecclesiastical system, the supreme pontificate, instead of being a mere appellation, or an appendage to the imperial title, would be an office of unlimited influence and authority. The emperor would be the undisputed and unrivalled head of the religion of the empire; the whole sacerdotal order would be at his command; paganism, instead of being, as heretofore, a confederacy of different religions, an aggregate of local systems of worship, each under its own tutelar deity, would become a well-regulated monarchy, with its provincial, civic, and village priesthoods, acknowledging the supremacy, and obeying the impulse, of the high imperial functionary. Julian admitted the distinction between the priest and the laity. In every province a supreme pontiff was to be appointed, charged with a superintendence over the conduct of the inferior priesthood, and armed with authority to suspend or depose those who should be guilty of any indecent irregularity. The whole priesthood were to be sober, chaste, temperate in all things. They were to abstain, not merely from loose society, but, in a spirit diametrically opposite to the old religion, were rarely to be seen at public festivals, never where women mingled in them. In private houses, they were only to be present at the moderate banquets of the virtuous; they were never to be seen drinking in taverns, or exercising any base or sordid trade. The priesthood were to stand aloof from society, and only mingle with it to infuse their own grave decency, and unimpeachable moral tone. The theatre, that second temple, as it might be called, of the older religion, was sternly proscribed; so entirely was it considered sunk from its high religious character, so incapable of being restored to its old moral influence. They were to avoid all books, poetry, or tales, which might inflame their passions; to abstain altogether from those philosophical writings, which subverted the foundations of religious belief, those of the Pyrrhonists and Epicureans, which, Julian asserts, had happily fallen into complete neglect, and had almost become obsolete. They were to be diligent and liberal in almsgiving, and to exercise hospitality on the most generous scale. The Jews had no beggars, the Christians maintained, indiscriminately, all applicants to their charity; it

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was a disgrace to the pagans to be inattentive to such duties; and the authority of Homer is alleged to show the prodigal hospitality of the older Greeks. They were to establish houses of reception for strangers in every city, and thus to rival or surpass the generosity of the Christians. Supplies of corn, from the public granaries, were assigned for these purposes, and placed at the disposal of the priests, partly for the maintenance of their attendants, partly for these pious uses. They were to pay great regard to the burial of the dead, a subject on which Grecian feeling had always been peculiarly sensitive, particularly of strangers. The benevolent institutions of Christianity were to be imitated and associated to paganism. A tax was to be levied in every province for the maintenance of the poor, and distributed by the priesthood. Hospitals for the sick, and for indigent strangers of every creed, were to be formed in convenient places. The Christians, not without justice, called the emperor "the ape of Christianity." Of all homage to the Gospel, this was the most impressive and sincere; and we are astonished at the blindness of Julian in not perceiving that these changes, which thus enforced his admiration, were the genuine and permanent results of the religion; but the disputes, and strifes, and persecutions, the accidental and temporary effects of human passions, awakened by this new and violent impulse on the human mind." — Vol. III. pp. 70–74.

In 391, the emperor Theodosius issued severe edicts against sacrifices, the inspection of the entrails of victims, magic rites, and even the entering of temples. Paganism was thus completely abolished, as the religion of Rome, the religion of which the emperor was, by right of office, the Pontifex-Maximus. To root out the vestiges of the older worship from the retired districts, from the hearts and customs of the populace, was the work of long ages. Indeed, it has never been completed. The clergy boldly put in their counsel in civil affairs; the union of church and state grew up imperceptibly; no terms were agreed upon, and the indefiniteness of the first compact has ever since been a fruitful source of trouble and strife. The monks were the great instruments in effecting the change of faith throughout the empire. Their untiring energy, their blazing zeal, their bold eloquence, bore on their doctrine with a resistless progress. In no work, as far as the range of our reading enables us to pronounce an opinion, have the characters and influence of the great prelates of the East and the West been so admirably discussed, as in the third volume of Mr. Milman's History. He

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brings the men before us, and with the fresh, warm coloring of life, we behold them, the ascetics of the cell, the mitred dignitaries of the empire. We read in the Gospels and Epistles how Christianity plead in vain before the petty officials of provincial Judea. Contrast with those scenes the following picture, in which the emperor of the world bows to the dust, before Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Theodosius had ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, on account of a fray, which occurred in the city. Seven thousand lives were sacrificed; for eight months, the doors of the church were closed against the emperor of the world. "At length, Ambrose consented to admit the emperor to an audience; with difficulty he was persuaded to permit him to enter, not into the church itself, but into the outer porch, the place of the public penitents. At length, the interdict was removed on two conditions, that the emperor should issue an edict, prohibiting the execution of capital punishments for thirty days after conviction, and that he should submit to public penance. Stripped of his imperial ornaments, prostrate on the pavement, beating his breast, tearing his hair, watering the ground with his tears, the master of the Roman empire, the conqueror in so many victories, the legislator of the world, at length received the hard-wrung absolution."

But dignity and power did not accrue to the Christian faith, without bringing with them the unhallowed passions which they kindled. Priscillian, a noble and eloquent Spaniard, whose sentiments were in part Manichæan and in part gnostic, and some of his followers were the first to suffer death, judicially, for religious error. This sentence was inflicted A. D. 385, by Maximus, the usurping emperor of Gaul, though the general voice of Christianity disowned it. The small beginnings of spiritual pride and of ecclesiastical usurpation were now attaining a rank growth. The progress of corruption is accurately and clearly traced in the work before us. Yet, in the midst of all the corruption of the early Church, its great offices of wealth and power were not coveted; its episcopal dignities were, in many cases, forced into unwilling hands. The great prelates, both of the East and West, endeavored, in every way, to escape the proud but arduous office. Gregory and Chrysostom of Constantinople, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo, were bishops by compulsion, and Jerome, in spite of compulsion, lived and died a monk.

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The chapter on the monastic system, in Mr. Milman's third volume, is a liberal and candid examination of that inexhaustible subject. We are apt to confine our views to the irrational and superstitious character of that system. But we should not forget the strength and sincerity of feeling which it displayed. In these days of easy faith, it will harm none of us to study the ascetic, but none the less heroic life of St. Jerome. Mr. Milman traces the rise of monastic establishments from the clustering of admiring disciples around the cell of the hermit. The whole of Egypt, from the Cataracts to the Delta, was so thickly covered with the abodes of cœnobites, in its wildest and dreariest regions, that the occupants could no longer be called solitaries. There were five thousand cœnobites in the desert of Nitria. "The total number of male anchorites and monks was estimated at seventy-six thousand; the females at twenty-seven thousand seven hundred." There certainly was some beneficial tendency in this formation of vigorous societies of Christian believers in the heart of those remote districts, whence paganism had not, as yet, been expelled. They filled an important place among those influences of mingled good and evil, which resist the destructive tendencies of barbarism and ignorance. Christians have not yet found out the secret of so studying the vagaries and perversions of past times, as to feel impelled to imitate the virtue which they attest, as well as to censure the error which they unhappily disclose.

The last half of the volume embraces a very interesting survey of the change effected by Christianity, and of its general and relative character and influence, at the close of the period embraced in the history. Christians are now the people. Public interests and measures have a prominent reference to the religion of Jesus Christ. Henceforward we must depend upon Christian writers. But we are not to look for the full effect of Christianity. Down to the time of Justinian, it had not even rebuked slavery. Its early emperors, too, were but imperfect exhibitions of Christian rulers. They affected a style of Oriental magnificence, and giving themselves up to their own pleasures, surrendered the interests of the government to eunuchs and court favorites, to whom the bishops often owed their promotion. Yet, Christian emperors will bear a favorable comparison with their heathen predecessors; none of them were such monsters in iniquity as Tiberius, Caligula, or Nero. The power of the clergy now develops itself, and draws in to

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strengthen itself the willing concessions of a people, who held it in reverent and submissive awe. The bishops, as successors of martyrs, held prominent, though dangerous, and, therefore, revered offices, and by successive encroachments in the assumption of magistratical authority, of the power of absolution and excommunication, they began to claim apostolical authority. The language and institutions of the Old Testament, likewise, had much influence, and, before the close of the third century, the Christian clergy were invested with the titles and rights of the Levitical priesthood. They had at first been chosen by the people, and then consecrated by the bishop, till by gradual encroachments, and by the influence obtained when they were appealed to in disputes, the bishops identified their right of consecration with that of appointment, and their triumph was complete. No sagacious or far-sighted minds appear to have foreseen how broad and deep a foundation for future wrong and oppression was thus laid. In the last half of the fourth century, the streets of Rome ran with blood, while Damasus and Ursicinus contested for the bishopric of that city. And when the bishops had thus triumphed to so good purpose for themselves, they began to struggle against each other. While Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, contested together for the prize of supremacy in the East, Rome, as the ancient seat of the empire, and still the gathering point of interest and wealth, stood highest in the West, with no questioning rival. She, too, was appealed to in the disputes of others, and thus she gained that power, first by the right of giving advice, which the bishops of the other sees had severally gained in the same way, before her proud claims were ever whispered. Wealth flowed into the Church from all quarters, especially from testamentary bequests.

The honor attributed to virginity, the hierarchical spirit of detachment from worldly ties, and the influence of the monastic system, made very gradual restrictions upon the marriage of the clergy, in the fourth century. First, the clergy were forbidden a second marriage, then they were forbidden to marry a widow, then to marry after ordination, though a state of wedlock did not incapacitate from ordination. Thus, ecclesiastical interference, beginning with the ministers of religion, advanced in its encroachments, till it threw its bands over the most private rights of individuals. The Church promulgated the laws of marriage, divorce, and testaments, and instituted a scale of pen-

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itential discipline, till it wielded its last terrific power of branding and burning in this world and the next, by excommunication. The observations, with which Mr. Milman sums up this review of ancient ecclesiastical aggrandizement, are truly eloquent. The circumstances of the times, the consecrated purpose of the master minds who planned such a gigantic and complete structure, he justly adduces as mitigating the censure of the beginning of that, the end of which has been mournful. Let the oil of charity be poured over these waters of bitterness; for, after all, it would be utterly impossible for us to imagine a picture dark enough to represent what would have been the state of the world at the breaking up of the Roman empire, had it not been for the Catholic Church.

In place of the public spectacles of heathenism, to which the people had been wont to look for excitement and recreation, the Church at first invested with august ceremony its sacred rites, baptism, the Lord's Supper, funerals, and the festivals in honor of the martyrs. For a time these sufficed, but the people soon demanded something more. The gymnasium, the theatre and amphitheatre, and the chariot-race in the circus were revived; perhaps they never died out.

The Christian literature of this period does indeed require a peculiar taste to relish it. Yet it has its interest, and in truth it may be said, its charms. A new language, or a great modification of an old language, was needed, for the expression of Christian sentiments and duties. The religion itself was poetry, and soon it inspired its bards and its musicians. The amazing credulity which prevailed gave birth to legends, the lives of saints, and even to spurious gospels and epistles. The histories of the time lack integrity, as they were written on the avowed canon of concealing all which would reflect dishonor on the faith; a canon, however, which the writers seem to have been either too honest or too simple always to observe. The controversial literature of the apologies, commentaries, expositions of faith and Scripture, and orations, have a value in the history of the human mind. They may be slightingly spoken of, but they furnish more modern material than most persons may be aware.

In the fine arts, likewise, Christianity was obliged to await the re-awakening of the human mind, and to form for itself images and ideas of its own. The results of its long and successful labor, the beautiful relics of its own architecture, sculp-

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ture, and painting, are now the admiration of the world. "The substitution of mental expression for merely corporeal beauty" is the characteristic distinction between Christian and heathen art. How deeply the Church felt the obligation of consecrating every influence which might reach the heart, how thoroughly it pervaded the business and pleasure of life with its symbols, by the road-side and on the mountain top, the whole of Western Christendom now bears witness. True, superstition and a very coarse taste mingled with the first efforts of Christian art, and no little deception was practised in leading the populace to worship the dark and misshapen pictures, ascribed to the apostolic age, and in some instances to St. Luke himself. But the perfection of Italian genius succeeded in elevating the labors of art, and at least, in making a beautiful representation of a beautiful subject.

In conclusion, Mr. Milman just glances at the topics, which will engage his attention in the continuation of his history. Our Protestant prejudices against the faith and discipline of the Roman Church, during the middle ages, need no strengthening, nor will the author indulge himself in harsh censures, or severe epithets. This mode of reasoning has been too long prevalent, and it has failed of its object. Catholicism has not been so overawed, that it will no longer attempt to vindicate its doctrine, or to justify its departure from primitive truth and simplicity, under the plea of concessions to a barbarous and unsettled age. The abuses of the Church, its divorce of religion and morality, its substitution of ceremony for instruction, its exaltation of implicit faith above the labor and freedom of individual conviction, have not been left to the animadversion of Protestants alone. There was always, in the Catholic Church, a feeble desire of reforming and purifying herself. Jovinian and Vigilantius, premature Protestants, resolutely opposed the early perversions of Christianity, questioning celibacy, martyrs' relics, and miracles, the lighting of lamps in processions, and on the altars, &c., and this in the very face of the great champion, Jerome.

Christianity thus levelled to the capacity of an illiterate priesthood, prepared itself, with its formal creed, and its splendid ritual, for the long and deep obscurity, the warlike struggles, and the feudal institutions of the dark ages. It worked upon the surface, and beneath the deepest currents of society. It preserved the little light which glimmered in Europe, in its own

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cloisters. It cherished for a better day the great principles of love and duty. Armed with the might of its own truth, and with the weapons which it had forged for itself, and wrenched from its enemies, it entered boldly upon a contest, through which nothing false or weak could pass, and live. How does the truth, the character, and the influence of Christianity appear upon these early pages of its history? The question has an interest, which belongs to no other question in the annals of the world. It is deep enough to fill and satisfy a whole life.

G. E. E.

ART. IV.—*Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Brown, M. D., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* By the Rev. DAVID WELSH, Minister of Cross-Michael. Edinburgh. pp. 525.

IT is somewhat remarkable, that of an individual, who by his station in a distinguished university and his writings attracted for a season no inconsiderable attention, we find scarcely any notices in the journals of his time. His poetical works, which were too numerous for his fame, were for the most part it is true, anonymous. Some of them fell abortive from the press, while of some others it must be said, that they obtained more notice than praise. It was a subject of regret with his friends, and not without some reproach from his enemies, that one filling so conspicuous a place in the university, the colleague and successor of Dugald Stewart, should have devoted so much of his time to poetry; and even in this department, in which he seemed strangely to covet distinction, more than in any other, "his fate," says his biographer, "has been singular, and, during his own life-time, hard. Though it was never disputed, that he had first-rate talents, none of his works, while he was yet alive, ever attained any great popularity; and in the reviews of the day, the name of Dr. Brown is almost the only one of any celebrity, that is never to be found."

In vindicating the professional character of his friend, Mr. Welsh has evidently indulged throughout these Memoirs his personal partialities; but, with all due allowance for this

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pardonable infirmity, no one can read his biography without finding, in its accomplished subject, a distinguished scholar, a subtle metaphysician, and one of singular gentleness of temper, and unexceptionable life.

Dr. Thomas Brown was the son of the Rev. Samuel Brown, a minister of the Church of Scotland, and born at the manse of Hirknabreck, in 1778. The family, from which he was descended, was remarkable, as he was himself, for the cheerfulness and benevolence of their temper. His mother, some of whose ancestors appear with honor among those, who were banished from Scotland on account of their adherence to the covenant, is represented as a woman of great elegance and gentleness of manners, and exemplary in her devotion to domestic duties. Dr. Brown was the youngest of thirteen children, and awakened, even from his infancy, a peculiar interest in his parents. When his father was on his death-bed, and saw his wife in tears, he drew this child towards him, and patting his head, said, "Remember that I have told you, that this little fellow will be a blessing to you when I am gone." And assuredly, in his filial affection and reverence, the assiduous attentions he at no period failed of paying her, and in the gratification of her maternal pride in witnessing, as she lived to do, his professional fame, the prediction was well fulfilled.

Dr. Brown received the first rudiments of his education in Edinburgh, whither his family removed, soon after the death of his father. His education there was entirely domestic, and, for three or four years, his only instructer was his mother. Perhaps to this circumstance may be ascribed the gentleness, even feminine, which marked his manners, and which, with strangers, did not wholly escape the charge of affectation. In the middle of his seventh year, he was removed to London, under the protection of his maternal uncle, Captain Smith, who was then resident in that city, and placed in school, first in Camberwell, and afterwards at Chiswick. Here he early attracted attention by the precocity of his attainments, and, for the gayety of his temper, was known by the name of "the little laugher." His appearance, also, was so engaging, that many of the relations of his fellow-pupils, who lived near the metropolis, used at the examinations previous to the holidays to crowd about him and invite him to spend the vacations with them, supposing that as he was from Scotland, he might otherwise have to remain at school.

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Of the friends, whom his manners and appearance thus early acquired for him, was the family of the Grahams, for the mother of whom, Mrs. Elizabeth Graham, herself a person of high literary accomplishments, and one of the first to discover and encourage the aspirings of his early genius, he entertained an almost filial affection. The influence she exerted on his character, and the delight he enjoyed in her society, he gratefully described in one of his happiest poetical efforts. The time he spent in the house of this lady, he regarded as one of the most interesting periods of his life. He found there a very beautiful and accomplished young lady, whose death, a few years after, produced an effect upon his feelings, that was never obliterated. And the sensations, which he experienced, when, upon revisiting this cherished spot, but a little before his own death, he found the occupants of the dwelling gone, the kind mistress of it, his patron and friend, herself having died, are embodied in a short poem, which, as his biographer justly observes, "will, in intensity of feeling and fidelity of painting, remind the reader of Cowper's beautiful lines on receiving his mother's picture." That his emotions were real, and, what is rare in subjects of poetical description, stronger than the representation, may be inferred from the fact, that at the sight of the deserted house, he was altogether overpowered, and fainted away. We copy a few of the stanzas.

"This is the dwelling. Oft, in boyish sport,
My step has danced along that silent court,
When my full bosom deemed, with eager glow,
The ready portal's quickest opener slow;
Still sure within that cheerful room to find
Kind eyes, kind voices, — and, O! hearts more kind.

"This is the dwelling; but the look, the tone,
The heart that gave the gladness, — all are flown.
Yet, while these trees wave o'er me, and I hear
Each well known branch still rustling in my ear,
See the same window, where, as day grew pale,
I sat, oft lingering o'er some half-read tale,
Scarce can I think, within that home-like door
No voice of love would bless me, as before." — p. 14.

"Lodge of the stranger; yet, tho' steps unknown
Sound on thy floor, thyself no stranger grown!
When last I left thee, friends all sadly gay
Hung round my path, to cheer me on my way;

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Forced with half-mirthful smile a faint relief,
And spoke of future joy with hearts of grief;
Even 'mid that dearest circle, dearer then,
Oft turned I, sad, to view thee yet again;
As if my heart, ere fear the ill could see,
Had presage of dark sorrow, soon to be.

"No smiles are round me now. Yet, while I dwell
With last fond look, and bid a new farewell,
More drear I feel the sadness, when that door
Still speaks of joy, yet says, Approach no more!
And half I seem, my soul at once to tear
From thy loved home, and all who loved me there."

p. 16.

With the death of his uncle, in 1792, was terminated young Brown's residence in London, and its vicinity. When sixteen years of age, he returned to Edinburgh and his maternal roof, having attended the English academies about seven years. That his proficiency in classical literature, the boast of English schools, was worthy of his reputation, may be inferred from his habit of reading aloud to his sisters, in English, from a Latin or Greek author, with such facility, that no one could have suspected, that he was translating. His powers of memory, of which Mr. Welsh gives many examples, were truly astonishing, making to him mere play and pastime those exercises, which to other boys were prescribed for punishment. Having been matriculated at the University of Edinburgh, he for several years attended the usual literary and physical classes, and took especial delight in the Lectures of Mr. Stewart, from some of whose speculations, he, even at that early period, ventured to express his dissent.

"His admiration, however, of Mr. Stewart's eloquence, did not blind him to the deficiency of analysis, which often lurks under the majestically flowing veil of his language and imagery; and the disciple longed to combat his master. As an opening for this, he committed to paper some remarks, which he had previously stated in conversation to Dr. Currie, upon one of Mr. Stewart's theories; and, after much hesitation, he at last summoned courage, and presented himself to Mr. Stewart at the close of one of his lectures, though personally unknown to him. Those who remember the dignified demeanor of Mr. Stewart in his class, which was calculated to convey the idea of one of those great and gifted men, who were seen among the groves of the

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academy, will duly appreciate the boldness of our young philosopher. With great modesty he read his observations; to which, Mr. Stewart, with a candor that was to be expected from a philosopher, but which not the less on that account did him infinite honor, listened patiently, and then, with a smile of wonder and admiration, read to him a letter which he had received from the distinguished M. Prevost of Geneva, containing the same argument that Dr. Brown had stated.

"This was followed by an invitation to his house, which Dr. Brown received with a delight that was increased by the hope, that, in the course of familiar conversation, he would have an opportunity of entering more fully into this and his other doctrines. Mr. Stewart, however, with a resolution that seems to have extended to his works, declined entering upon this or any other point of controversy. But, though he was disappointed in this, he was not disappointed in the kindness of Mr. Stewart, or in his uniform, and warm, and generous friendship." — pp. 24 – 26.

During his continuance in the university, Mr. Brown was a zealous member of two or three of those literary associations, for public speaking and debate, common in all the Scotch universities, and which, both from their number and the spirit with which they are sustained, must not be overlooked in the estimates of a Scotch education. Though not without their evils, as cherishing a love and habit of disputation, and tempting to the exhibition of ingenuity, rather than to honest investigation of truth, they are attended with great advantages. "Some of the greatest men, of whom Scotland can boast," says Mr. Welsh, (and we may mention with these the Erskines, Brougham, Mackintosh, Wilson, Hamilton, Walter Scott, Jeffrey, and others, like Robert Hall, not of Scotland,) have acknowledged their obligation to such institutions; "and," he adds, "there are few, who have received their education in Edinburgh, who do not look back to the hours spent in these literary and philosophic societies, as among the most improving of their early lives."

After leaving the university, in 1796, Dr. Brown was at first engaged in the study of the law, with the intention of preparing himself for the Scotch bar. His ambition, which was always with him a master passion, disposed him to this choice; but he hoped to unite, with professional eminence, attention to general literature, which was far more accordant with his taste. But the experience of a single year convinced him, that the

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union of these objects would require a frame more firm than at any period of his life he possessed. He accordingly relinquished the study of law for that of medicine. He attended the usual course prescribed for medical students, from 1798 to 1803. Upon receiving his degree, he published a Dissertation, which obtained the highest praises for the ingenuity of the theory, — "de Somno," — and more especially for the purity of the Latinity, for which he was greatly indebted to his thorough English education. His mother, who had noticed the multitude of literary works that he devoured during his professional preparation, had expressed some fears, that medicine was neglected. But her fears, though reasonable, proved unnecessary.

It was a few months after receiving his degree, that he published the first edition of his Poems, which obtained the praises of some partial friends, and were preferred by himself to some other of his productions, but were not destined to outlive even his own brief term. A far more important publication, which proved the foundation of his future success, was his Essay on "*Cause and Effect*," in 1805. It was occasioned by the well-known controversy in regard to the election of Mr. Leslie, as Professor of Mathematics, and was designed indirectly to sustain the cause of that gentleman against the violent opposition of some ambitious ecclesiastics and others, engaged in disputing his claims. As this controversy was one of deep interest to the Church of Scotland, not less than to the city and university of Edinburgh, as it called forth to their utmost exercise the abilities, and zeal, and passions also of many distinguished men; as, moreover, from the operation of the same causes, in which this controversy originated, Dr. Brown himself, as will soon appear, was twice disappointed in obtaining professorships in the same university, before he succeeded to the chair of Dugald Stewart; and still more, as the controversy itself presents an instructive exhibition of the workings of human passion, and of the lamentable dominion of personal interest and party spirit over principle, either in church or state; we will, in passing, advert to a few leading circumstances of its history.

It should be premised, that the Church of Scotland was at that time, as we believe also at present, divided into two great parties, generally designated as "the popular," and "the moderate," who, though professing outwardly the same belief, subscribing to the common symbols of the Establishment, differed widely in their interpretation of the articles, in their strains of

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preaching, and most of all in their views of the rights of the people. The "moderate party," of whom Principal Robertson, the celebrated historian, was for many years the acknowledged head, (so that, as long as he remained an active member of the General Assembly, the system upheld by the majority was called by his name, "*The Robertson Administration*,") were virtually Arminians in faith, and in their politics, firm supporters of the throne.* They also maintained, — and this was their distinctive peculiarity, — the right of the patron to the presentation of Church livings, whether that right was vested in the crown, in any private individual, or, as is the patronage of the Churches of Edinburgh, in the city corporation. The popular party, on the other hand, of whom the excellent Dr. Erskine, and after him, Sir Harry Moncrieff, was chief, adhered, like the evangelical party in the Church of England, to the strictest interpretation of their articles, were Calvinistic in their faith, and maintained the right of the people, if not in the first instance to elect, yet, at least, to confirm or negative the choice of their minister. Hence, were they designated as the popular party, holding that no presentation by a patron to a church was valid, except afterwards confirmed by the free acceptance of the people. The connexion of these parties with the present controversy will easily be seen. The moderates, who were the majority, and, for the aid they afforded the government the favored party, had been able to persuade those in power, "that it was absolutely necessary to secure the interests of *moderation*, by throwing out to the party as many good things as possible, professorships in colleges, as well as ecclesiastical livings, and that the interests of universities should always be secondary to the interests of the Church. Thus, it became a part of their policy, that every professional chair of the college, appropriated to letters and general science, should, as it became vacant, be filled up by clergymen of the city of Edinburgh, or its neighborhood, as often as individuals belonging to that body could be found fitted; "if, indeed," as Dr. Brown sarcastically observed, after his own disappointment from this very source, "a minister of Edinburgh, on that courtly side, can be ill fitted for any profes-

* Of this party, together with Principal Robertson their acknowledged head, were Dr. Blair, Dr. Campbell, Macknight, Gerard, and many other of the most distinguished names in the Scottish Church.

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sorship that happens to be vacant at the time when his genius for it happens to be in demand." *

Accordingly, no sooner had the Professorship of Mathematics in the University become vacant, by the promotion of Mr. Playfair to the chair of Natural Philosophy, than, agreeably to their policy, the "moderate" clergy, who were the majority in Edinburgh, proposed one of their own number, Mr. Macknight, son and successor of the more celebrated Dr. Macknight, author of the Exposition of the Epistles, to fill it. Mr. Leslie, whose scientific qualifications were indisputable, and who had recently received the highest literary honors in England for an Essay on Heat, of unusual ability, was the favorite candidate of the electors. His claims were incontestably superior to those of any clerical competitor. But the clerical party left nothing unattempted to defeat him. They charged him with infidelity. They garbled his Essay to sustain the charge, and resorted to expedients, which, to say the least, were unworthy of their profession, and were scarcely compatible with any common standard of integrity. It was partly to refute this charge, and to explain the doctrine of Hume as repeated and maintained by Mr. Leslie in his dissertation, that Dr. Brown composed his celebrated Essay on Cause and Effect. He does not expressly refer to the disgraceful controversy that occasioned it, but the design was as well understood, as it was effectually accomplished. Mr. Leslie was chosen to the Professorship. But his opponents, though excessively chagrined, did not despair. Availing themselves of a provision in the charter of the University, which had been a dead letter for full one hundred and twenty-five years, but which they found it convenient, at this crisis, to revive,† they brought the whole affair, by processes, which it is needless here to explain, in the way of appeal before the assembly of the Church of Scotland. They were finally defeated, and the election of Mr. Leslie confirmed, though by a majority in the assembly much smaller than the merits of the question, and of the parties concerned, would have justified the anticipation.

* See Dugald Stewart's short statement of facts relative to Professor Leslie's election.

† By this provision, the power of electing Professors in the University is vested in the town council, under the express condition of its being exercised with the advice of their ministers, (cum avisamento tamen eorum ministrorum.)

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Of the importance, however, of the question, of its bearings upon the interests of the University, and the warmth of feeling it kindled in the parties, our readers at the present day can form some adequate notion, from the language of Mr. Dugald Stewart, who published a statement of the controversy, and who, whatever might have been his speech under provocation or excitement, — when, as we have learnt, he could show that he also was a man, — used a moderation amounting to the extreme of caution, in his writings.

"An injury," says he, "of no common magnitude has been offered to the interests of our religion, to the credit of the Church of Scotland, and to the literary honors that have long adorned it; and it is in the wisdom and firmness of its Supreme Court alone, that a prompt and effectual remedy can be found.

"But a tribunal more awful and decisive than that venerated House is yet awaiting the authors of this complicated mischief. They are now dragged to the bar of the public. At their bar, I stand as their accuser, nor will I quit it till they receive their doom. "Illic, et judex tacet, et adversarius obstrepit, et *nihil temere dictum perit.*" *

And again, after the decision of the Assembly, it is very evident, that the fervor of the occasion had not subsided, even with the successful party. He thus speaks.

"The pledge," says Mr. Stewart, "which I originally gave, when I stood forth as *their* accuser, has been long ago redeemed. *I promised to remain at the bar of the public, till they should receive their doom.* That doom I had the satisfaction to hear pronounced, (not many hours after those words were written,) in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and the ratification, which it has since received from that more awful tribunal, whose unbiassed and paramount sanction the justice of my cause emboldened me to invite and to solicit, has now fixed and sealed their destiny forever. '*In the place where the tree hath fallen, there must it lie.*'

D. S."

Our readers will bear in mind, that Mr. Stewart is here referring to the majority of the clergy of Edinburgh, in 1805; among whom, besides their elders, were many, who had been his pupils in the college, whom, therefore, addressing them in

* Tracts respecting the Election of Mr. Leslie.

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the name of the whole Faculty, he felt he had a right, as their former instructer, thus to rebuke. It appears, that the Presbytery had demanded the attendance of the "Senatus Academicus," to answer for the course they had pursued. We do not envy them the feelings, with which they must have received this reply.

"The Senatus Academicus have only to say, that the members of the University are perfectly willing to do what the laws of the State and of the Church prescribe, and are ready to attend the Reverend Presbytery, whenever they shall be required to appear before it, for that purpose.

"In the mean time, the Senatus Academicus flatter themselves, that it will not be considered presumptuous, on their part, to remind such of the younger members of the Presbytery, who were formerly their pupils, (and the senior professors have the pleasure to remark, that these form, at present, a very large proportion of that Reverend body,) that the interests of religion are most effectually promoted by its happy influence on the character and temper of its ministers; and that an extraordinary profession of zeal for its external forms is never so likely to afford matter of triumph to its enemies, as when a suspicion is allowed to arise in the public mind, that it has been employed in subserviency to the interested views of individuals, or to the purposes of an ecclesiastical party." — *Tracts*, &c.

But the most remarkable feature in the controversy remains to be noticed; and we cannot state it better, than in the words of the reviewer of Professor Stewart's statement.

"These recent occurrences belong not to the annals of any peculiar fanaticism. If the denominations of faction were to be still retained, after the conduct to which they were applied seems obliterated, we should have to tell, that the cause of genuine philosophy was defended by the *fanatics*, (that is, the Orthodox, or popular party,) while the flames of persecution were kindling by the *moderates*. That description of ministers, who have always proudly avowed a more strict adherence to the peculiar standards of our Church, in discipline and faith, while they are still characterized by a predilection for topics of doctrine, and by the more useful distinction of pastoral assiduities, have lost, in a more enlarged education, and a more liberal intercourse with mankind, those feelings of intolerance, which disgraced their predecessors; and, in the case of Mr. Leslie, have proved themselves equal to the soundest learning of the

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times, and true to the great maxims of toleration. On the other hand, the late attempted persecution, together with the remonstrance about subscription, were the acts of men, who have ever set themselves forth as the lineal descendants of Principal Robertson's party, and his successors in the administration of the Church. How would it have moved the historian's indignation, had he survived to hear of his name being used by men, who had violated every principle, by which he had labored to tranquillize and enlighten the politics of his national Church."

We have dwelt the longer upon this disgraceful history, because, as we have already intimated, it was through the prevalence of that party in the Church, whose defeat, in this instance, was with no small difficulty accomplished, that Dr. Brown was twice disappointed in obtaining a professorship, before he succeeded to the chair of Dugald Stewart. His youth, it must be confessed, might have been reasonably objected; for it was as early as 1799, when he had scarcely reached his twenty-second year, that, the Professorship of Rhetoric becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Blair, his friends made great exertions to procure it for their young favorite. In this instance, the clerical candidate was preferred, who, as we can testify by painful hearing, was qualified neither by his elocution, nor apparently by gifts of any sort, for the chair of Rhetoric. Again, when the Professorship of Logic was to be disposed of, and fresh efforts were made by his friends to procure it for Dr. Brown, still the same interests prevailed, and another clergyman, Dr. Ritchie, was chosen. But, in 1809, when the health of Mr. Stewart began to decline, he invited his young friend to assist him in his course, and when, at length, Mr. Stewart found it necessary to withdraw from all academical employments, Dr. Brown was elected, first as his colleague, and finally as his successor.

Thus did the subject of this memoir obtain the fulfilment of his wishes, and, at an age which must be counted early for such a distinction, — for he was only in his thirty-second year, — became professor in one of the most important departments in a university holding the first rank in Scotland. He at once relinquished his medical profession, the practice of which had always been irksome, and with it his connexion, which was at once honorable, and would have proved highly advantageous, with that celebrated physician, Dr. Gregory, well known as the author of some valuable works, and for many years at the head of the Medical School in Edinburgh. Among the many letters

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of congratulation, which Dr. Brown received upon his appointment, was one from his friend, Francis Horner, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, once his fellow-student, and to his death a cherished friend. It expresses, in no doubtful terms, his satisfaction in the result, both as a personal gratification, and as a triumph over that same *clerical* faction, who did not fail here also to distinguish themselves, and encountered, as they merited, a signal defeat.

"I am happy for your sake, that you are enabled to devote your life to the pursuits, in which you have most pleasure; and in which you have a long course before you of fame, and discovery, and good to mankind. I am made happy on Mr. Stewart's account, who felt so natural an anxiety, that the reputation of his chair, and of his favorite science, should be maintained by no unworthy successor. But what gives me more pleasure than any other consideration, is to see the University rescued from the danger, that seemed to threaten it with complete ruin, of the chair of Moral Philosophy filled by one of those *political priests*, who have already brought such disgrace upon the University." — *Life of Dr. Brown*, p. 185.

The labors of Dr. Brown, in entering upon the duties of his professorship, were exceedingly arduous, and the preparation of his lectures for the first year of his course may be numbered with the curious facts in literary history, worthy a collection such as that of D'Israeli. When it is considered that the single college term in the Scotch universities embraces full six months; that through the whole of this period, with the exception only of a few holidays at Christmas and New Year, the professors are required to give lectures five days in every week, of an hour each, making nearly one hundred and fifty lectures for the season, the amount of intellectual and physical toil imposed upon a young professor, who has his lectures to prepare, may easily be calculated. When the term commenced, in 1810, except a few lectures, that he had written as the assistant, or in the absence of Mr. Stewart, Dr. Brown had no other preparation in writing. But, says his biographer,

"In his extensive reading, his thorough acquaintance with the science, a copious imagination, great powers of language, with good health and spirits, and the stimulus of an enlightened audience, he had the best of all preparations. From a mind of such a conformation, and in a state of such culture, what is called forth in the excitement of the hour, has more spirit, and general-

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ly as much correctness, as the careful and plodding products of timid mediocrity."

Mr. Welsh then proceeds to give some particulars in the history of the preparation of these lectures, which, as those lectures are now before the public very much in the form in which they were first delivered, can hardly fail to interest the reader, as furnishing a most extraordinary example of rapid composition. Five lectures, for every week, occupying in the delivery an hour each, are, if we may borrow our calculations from labors in another profession, equivalent to ten sermons every week, of thirty minutes each.

"It is surprising," as Mr. Welsh, not without reason, observes, "that with his delicate frame, he did not sink altogether under such exertions. For several nights, he was prevented from ever being in bed, and on one occasion he did not begin the lecture of the next day till one o'clock of the night preceding. He had been engaged in entertaining a numerous company of literary friends, and it was not till their departure that he commenced his studies."

Indeed, it appears, "that he seldom began to prepare any of his lectures till the evening of the day before it was delivered. He was often writing at his desk, when he heard the hour of twelve," (which was the prescribed hour for the professor of Moral Philosophy, and must be scrupulously regarded, because of Mr. Playfair's course, which followed with like punctuality at one,) "when he hurried off to deliver what he had written. When his lecture was over, if the day was favorable, he generally took a walk, or employed his time in light reading, till his favorite beverage, tea, restored him again to a capacity for exertion." — *Life*, pp. 193, 194.

It happened to the writer of this notice to have been among the hearers of this same course of lectures, in the winter of 1811, and to have witnessed the incredible labors of this gifted, but rash professor. Though he always kindled with his subject, and his pupils could discover no deficiency of animation, even at the commencement of his readings, it was impossible, that such exertions should daily be made, for so long a period, without the most fearful hazards. In his walks of recreation, which usually followed, it was easy to perceive the exhaustion he suffered. In a letter to a friend, at the conclusion of the academic season, he justly describes it "as a *dreadful winter*," and "*a fag from morning till night.*" "For six or seven

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weeks," he adds, "I had to compose every day the lecture of the ensuing day; and yet, I believe, after all, that these lectures were among the best I gave."

It is by no means certain, that the opinion of his readers will coincide with the writer; or that posterity, (if the lectures themselves, which is doubtful, will survive to receive a judgment from posterity,) will confirm it. The most extraordinary circumstance in this history is, that these same lectures, written with a rapidity unparalleled, we believe, in the history of such productions, within a time not more than sufficient for the mere mechanical execution, should have been repeated year after year, successively, that is, until the last sickness of their author, and then, after his death, *printed from his manuscripts, exactly as he wrote them, without alteration, except*, as Mr. Welsh declares, *the addition of the heads or titles, and a few notes of reference.* It is difficult to believe that he did not revise them in the repetition, or that, with his zeal in the science he professed, he could have been satisfied with these first fruits of his labors, gathered so hastily. We infer, that he must have varied them by extempore illustration, or otherwise given to his classes some benefit of his passing studies, during the ten years he instructed them. However this may be, we hear from this time forth more of his poetry than of his philosophy, a choice, which even his most partial friends regretted, as a mistaken and unfortunate estimate of his gifts.

Dr. Brown continued in the discharge of the duties of his professorship till the beginning of the year 1820. A little before that period, he had suffered from a quickness of pulse, and a general exhaustion. He was compelled, by his physician, though with reluctance, to omit lecturing for a few days.

"When he again met his class," says his friend, "his lecture unfortunately happened to be one, which always excited in him great emotion. Indeed, many of his lectures affected him so much, that he found it difficult to conceal from his pupils, what he felt. When he read anything, that contained sublime moral sentiments, or anything very tender, he never failed to be much moved."

The particular lecture, to which Mr. Welsh refers, contained some touching lines from Beattie's Hermit, which he recited in the most affecting manner; and there were those among his pupils, who, aware of his great debility, "conceived that the

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emotion he displayed in uttering these last words, arose from a foreboding of his own approaching dissolution."

"Nor yet for the ravage of winter I mourn;
Kind Nature the embryo blossom will save;
But when shall Spring visit the mouldering urn?
O! when shall it dawn on the night of the grave?"

From Edinburgh, he retired a few miles out of town, to the country residence of his valued friend, Dr. Charles Stuart. The mildness of the weather, though it was then in February, seemed at first to have had a favorable influence, and he entertained hopes of recovery. He earnestly desired it, for he loved his profession and its honors, and seems to have taken a deep interest in the progress of his class. His regret at not being able to attend them, and his anxiety to obtain a fit person to read his lectures, hurt him exceedingly. Unfortunately to the mild weather, which had tempted him into the country, a dreadful storm succeeded, with heavy falls of snow; the effect was immediate, and from that time his health rapidly declined.

Mr. Welsh gives the following affecting account of his parting interview with him.

"It was while he was here, that I saw, for the last time, my ever-lamented friend." "I found him in bed, and there was something in the sound of his voice and in the expression of his countenance altogether, that at the very first look irresistibly impressed upon me, that there was nothing more to hope. There was no languor, however, in his eye." "Amidst the death of every other feature, his eyes had all their former mild intelligence."

"'They want me,'" said he, "with a tone of voice, in which sorrow, and something almost approaching to dissatisfaction were conjoined, 'they want me to go to London, and then spend the summer in Leghorn, and a thousand other horrid places,' and then, after a pause, and with an altered tone of voice and expression of countenance, such as marked his allowance for human nature, he added, ''t is very difficult to convince them, that *there is such a disease as the love of one's country.* Many people really cannot be made to comprehend it.' He then proceeded, with a languid and melancholy smile, 'but there *is* such a disease;

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine captos,
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.

Non sinit,' he added, 'how simply and beautifully expressive, it will not *let* us forget it.'"

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He yielded, however, to the prescription of his physician, Dr. Gregory, and embarked at Leith for London, where he was met by the kindest friends, and conveyed to pleasant lodgings at Brompton. For a few days, he seemed to revive; but it was only for a few. Disease had marked him for its victim. During its whole progress, he preserved his natural gentleness, but gave little utterance, as was his custom through life, to his religious emotions. His chief anxiety seemed to be the distress, which his illness occasioned to those about him; and, after a short term of acute suffering, he expired, on the 2d of April, 1820, in the forty-second year of his age. His remains were put into a leaden coffin, and, being conveyed to Scotland, were laid, agreeably to his wish, beside those of his father and mother.

We must leave to our readers such views as they may be disposed to form of the merits of Professor Brown, as a poet and philosopher. His personal virtues were of the most attractive nature, and conciliated, as we have seen, the warm attachment of the eminent men, among whom he spent his days. Neither his poetry nor his lectures, however, are destined to any permanent fame; and the latter, as might have been anticipated from his hasty preparations, have already lost the place they for a short time obtained among the text-books of our colleges and universities.

P. P.

Edward Turner

Art. V.—On the probable Durability of the World.

The efforts of a recent lecturer to prove the speedy coming of the millennium, have attracted so much attention as to call forth many answers, more or less elaborate, from the pulpit and the press. The substance of these answers, comprised in the response of our Lord, "of that day and hour knoweth no man," must be considered as satisfactory.

But the wish to pry into futurity is natural to man. He cannot be satisfied with the present or the past. He looks to the future for something better, and brighter, and happier, than anything he has yet seen. This disposition is necessarily connected with the wish for improvement. If man were satisfied

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with his present lot, he would sink into idleness, and make no exertion to improve it. Since, then, there is this natural desire to look into the future, — notwithstanding we may consider it settled, that it was not the intention of the sacred writings to afford light upon this subject, — it may still be asked, can we not form some conclusions for ourselves?

That this earth is not to endure forever, may be considered certain. Everything upon it is subject to decay; and it is continually undergoing important changes, which prove that it is not itself indestructible. The observations of astronomers, also, inform us that changes are constantly going on in the heavenly bodies. New worlds are formed, and others disappear. We have the strongest reason to conclude, that everything, which comes within the reach of our senses, is perishable, and that God only is eternal.

By a thoughtful and extended survey of the operations of Providence in the past, as far as they have been unfolded to our view, we may form some conclusions in regard to the future. If we find that everything, of which we can judge, exhibits evidence of its being part of the same general plan, we have reason to infer, that those things, of which we cannot judge, are part of the same general plan.

May we not, therefore, form some good judgment in regard to the continuance of the human race in their present condition, by examining the history of the past, the time that this world has already endured, and the greater or less rapidity, with which our race has advanced from the creation to the present time?

We are now aware, that our planet has not always been inhabited by man; but that other races of animals successively ranged its surface, and that it probably existed thousands of years before it had any inhabitants. At first, it was a fluid mass, in which the materials of our present earth were probably held in solution, by heat. By the operation of this and other causes, it was gradually reduced to a state suitable for the existence of organized matter. Judging by what we know of the causes now under operation, and from the observations of astronomers, we may conclude that this process went on for a long series of years. By this continued action of heat, soil was gradually formed, adapted to the growth of plants and vegetables. The surface gradually cooled, and this process of cooling probably occupied ages. Vegetables then sprang up,

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stocking the earth with food for the animals that were soon to appear; and with fuel for the use of man. Next came reptiles, fishes, and other sea animals, which, for a succession of years, had the earth to themselves. At periods remote from each other, the surface of the earth underwent some sudden revolutions, by which the then existing races of animals were destroyed, and the way prepared for others. Then came those huge animals, the mastodon, the icthyosaurus, the iguanodon, &c., which ranged the world for ages before the birth of man. These races were in their turn destroyed by some new revolution. The interval of time between these revolutions we have no means of computing accurately, in the present state of geological knowledge; but by comparing the causes, which must have produced them, with what we observe of those now in operation, we have reason to believe that it was very great.

Thus long, then, was the earth undergoing a state of preparation for the human race. If it be true that man is the first rational and accountable being that has yet inhabited it, we may form one of two conclusions. Either the duration of his race will be long, in proportion to the state of preparation which the earth underwent for his use, and he will continue to inhabit it until he has arrived very nearly at a state of perfection; or he will be transferred to some other world in order to give place to a new species, probably possessing higher powers than man. Other races have been destroyed, leaving behind no vestige of their existence, but their bones; but man, an immortal being, cannot be thus destroyed. Even in his mortal condition, he is closely connected with the spiritual world. We suppose, that in this condition the spirit is in its infancy; and this is the first stage of an endless existence. How is this stage to be dispensed with, when the world is destroyed? Will the number be complete, and no more be added? This is hardly probable. In infinity, there is doubtless room for an endless creation of beings. It seems more probable that our race will continue to advance towards perfection, and by the increase of knowledge and of virtue, become possessed of increased and still increasing powers, — however slow this progress may be, until at last, guilt, sickness, and suffering, shall be heard of no more, and men shall pass from the mortal to the immortal state, without undergoing the pangs of death. This earth may then be dispensed with, or it may serve for the abode of a new order of beings; immortals being confined to no such narrow limits.

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The object of the creation and continued existence of man, undoubtedly, was and is his improvement, as a moral and intellectual being. We may trace a gradual improvement in the human race; slow, indeed, and with frequent retrocessions, but yet, on the whole, real and progressive. Now, after having arrived at a certain stage, man may, indeed, be transferred to another planet, or to some other part of the universe, still retaining his mortal condition. But it is much more in accordance with what we know of the scheme of Providence, that man should continue to inhabit this earth until the objects of his mortal existence are accomplished. It is the more natural and rational conclusion, that the world and the human family shall go on to improve, until the destiny of the race shall be accomplished.

With regard to the periods intervening between the great revolutions of the surface of the earth, we know nothing, but that they must have been very great, probably some thousands of years. Geology, like other sciences, may be said to be yet in its infancy. Future calculations, and a more exact comparison of the changes, which the earth has already undergone, with those now in progress, may supply the means of an accurate computation. But at present, we only know that its occupation by man is comparatively recent.

The only records of the early history of our race are found in the sacred writings. Whether we are content to receive these records in the manner in which they were received, and still continue to be, by those for whom they were written; or whether we suppose them to be merely traditionary, or to be allegorical, they form, nevertheless, the most probable account of the early history of man, and the most in accordance with the discoveries of geology, and the traditions of the various heathen nations.

From a consideration of the history thus given us, we may learn something of the degree of rapidity, with which the improvement of our race has proceeded; and the length of time which has elapsed between remarkable eras. To our impatient eyes, a few hundred years seem to be an immense length of time; but it is not so to that Being, to whom one day is as a thousand years.

From the creation of man to the deluge was a period of sixteen hundred years. How far man had advanced in knowledge and civilization during that period, we have no means of

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ascertaining. We know, however, from the sacred records, that this advance must have been considerable. Implements for the common purposes of life were undoubtedly first invented, and after these, those used in agriculture. Jubal was the father of all who handle the harp and organ, and Tubal-Cain an instructer of all who work in brass and iron. We cannot reconcile it with the evidence of design in all the works of God, that the sixteen hundred years previous to the deluge should have been blotted out, and the existence of man for this period have thus been rendered purportless. Noah and his family, doubtless, preserved the acquisitions that had been made, unattended with their accompanying vices.

The next important era in the Mosaic history is the erection of the tower of Babel, and the dispersion of the human family, only one hundred years after the deluge. During this time there had been a very rapid increase of knowledge and power, as is proved by the undertaking of such a work. The dispersion of the human family formed the second obstacle, by which the progress of improvement was delayed. It was necessary that the world should be peopled, and the inhabitants dispersed over different regions; but this might have taken place more gradually, if the vices of men had not called for the interposition of Providence.

From this event, a period of three hundred years elapsed previous to the next important interposition of the Deity, — the calling of Abraham. From this to the entrance into Canaan, and the fulfilment of the promise to the patriarch, was nearly five hundred years; the Israelites having passed about two hundred years in the land of Egypt, then the seat of science and learning. During the long period from the calling of Abraham to that of Moses, there seems to have been no remarkable miraculous interference. From the delivery of the law to the ministry of our Saviour, was a period of fifteen hundred years and upwards; almost as long as from the promulgation of Christianity to the present time.

During all this time, events were proceeding, not only in Judea, but in all other countries, to prepare the way for the diffusion of Christianity. Greece, deriving its knowledge from Egypt, grew into power, and took the lead of other nations. From thence, literature was transmitted to Rome, and she in her turn became the patron of the arts and sciences. In the time of our Saviour, the mistress of the world was in the zenith

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of her glory, and at the highest point of civilization. The arts, if not the sciences, had attained to a degree of perfection, which has never since been equalled. The specimens of sculpture and architecture of Grecian workmanship, seen at this day in Rome, are models for all succeeding artists. Not even the works of Michael Angelo can vie with those of Praxiteles.

From the Christian era to that of the invention of printing, and to the Reformation, was a period of about fourteen hundred years. Since those two great events, the progress of society has been much more rapid, and for the last four hundred years, very great advances have been made.

But is this advance constantly progressive, without impediment or interruption? The common opinion seems to be, that it is; that in religion, the arts and sciences, in literature, in everything, we are now marching onward with a rapidity unknown, and undreamed of in any former age, and that neither pause nor retrocession are now or hereafter to be apprehended. If this be really the case, we may expect to witness the coming of the millennium, or of an age of perfection during our own lives. But we can only judge rationally of the future by the past. Has the advance of our race been thus constantly progressive? History shows that it has not. The greatness of Egypt was already a tradition, when Greece rose into importance. Egypt sank into darkness and ignorance, whilst learning was in its infancy in Greece. In like manner, Greece had fallen into insignificance, and was finally destroyed, before Rome had arrived at any great degree of civilization. At the time of the conquest of Achaia, the Romans were a hardy, warlike, we may say, an ignorant people. It was this conquest that gave to Rome the learning and the arts of Greece, the acquisitions of the conquered among their conquerors. Rome in its turn arrived at its height of refinement, and soon began to decline, or to lose in power what it gained in cultivation. Soon the incursions of barbarous tribes from the north destroyed the nation, who had so long given laws to the world; and a period of chaos ensued. But as Greece civilized her conquerors, so did Rome; and amidst the darkness that followed the destruction of the great city, the stores of Rome were working like leaven among the numerous hordes that had broken in upon her. The progress of Christianity was facilitated by these incursions, and it was extended rapidly among the different tribes. The intercourse of the barbarians with the Romans, although its effects, for a time,

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were unseen, finally became manifest, and issued in the revival of letters, and in the Protestant Reformation.

If we examine minutely the history of Greece and Rome, which are best known to us of any ancient nations, we shall see that the seeds of corruption and decay germinated at the same time with those of science and literature, and kept even pace with them. As the nation increased in power and opulence, and obtained leisure to relax from the efforts of self-defence, and turn its attention to literature and the fine arts, it became effeminate; and vices before unknown were introduced. Let us look at the Augustan age of Rome. How great a mass of corruption existed at that period! A little earlier, in the time of Cicero, what abundant and convincing proof of the profligacy of the age we have in the characters of Catiline, Clodius, and Marc Antony, as portrayed by the pen of the orator; all of them popular and influential persons, surrounded by crowds of admirers and imitators! If further evidence were wanting, we might find it in the remains of Pompeii, a city, which, if we may judge of the morals of its inhabitants by the records still existing on its walls, deserved its fate as much as Sodom or Gomorrah.

The recent investigations of Comte D'Angeville, Guerry, and others in France, have shown, much to the surprise and consternation of many friends of education, that in those parts of the nation, where most attention was paid to education, there was the greatest amount of crime. A phrenological writer has availed himself of this fact to show, that in proportion to the degree of cultivation, the moral sense becomes obscured by the development of the propensities and emotions. To us, however, the fact does not appear incredible, nor the explanation difficult. Knowledge brings with it a desire for comforts and gratifications, which have hitherto been little thought of. It brings the desire of wealth, and it affords the means of obtaining it. The inhabitants of a district, where its fertility, or their own industry have rendered them the most comfortable, will naturally be the first to attend to education. Education brings, as we have said, new wants, and the means as well as the desire of obtaining their gratification. The existence of wealth naturally attracts to the place those who wish to profit by it; and among these are many who have not sufficient industry to obtain it by honest means. The natural consequences of wealth, also, are luxury and idleness, the parents of crime. If those,

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who have acquired property by their early habits of industry, do not become corrupted; yet their posterity, bred up without the necessity of exertion, must have amusement, and soon resort to vice. Thus, wealth operates in two ways to increase the amount of vice, and, by a necessary consequence, of crime, in a community; first, by its drawing from other places, the corrupt and lawless; and secondly, by its effect upon those who possess it. The same causes, that operate in a particular province or city, operate upon a large nation. Increase of knowledge brings an increase of wealth, or accompanies it: increase of wealth brings increase of crime. This is, therefore, no objection to the promotion of education. It is part of the plan of the all-wise Director of the universe, that no good shall be unattended with evil. This forms one part of the great system of checks and counterchecks, which belongs to our present state of discipline and preparation. Knowledge brings both good and evil. If we find, in the best educated communities, the greatest amount of crime, so also should we find the most numerous and striking acts of benevolence, and of the purest and most enlightened virtue, if the examination was pursued. But the records of prisons show the amount of the one. Of the other, there is no record kept, to which, in our present state, we can obtain access. That record is not kept on earth.

But, although a greater amount of virtue exists, in proportion to the extent of education, still these virtues do not act upon society in so great a degree as the vices of others. When we look into the history of the past, we find that self-interest has ever been the dominant motive with those most active in political life. The pages of history speak of but one Washington. We find, indeed, the records of daring and generous deeds of self-devotion, like that of Marcus Curtius; or of enthusiasts, who have held their lives of little value, in comparison with the success of the cause for which they struggled, but we find no other so perfect example of judgment, combined with energy, untiring patriotism, and disinterestedness. The former appear in history like the meteors, which are seen for an instant, and dazzle the eye, but leave no trace behind them. But a life like Washington's produces its effect not only in its own country, but in all others, and upon all succeeding times. The characters of other public men, who have combined coolness of judgment with energy in action, do not bear so close an examination. We find many a Cromwell, Coriolanus, or Cati-

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line; men, who, as long as the welfare of their country coincides with their own interest, will pursue it earnestly; but who, when thwarted in the career of their ambition, will not hesitate to involve it in ruin, or to sacrifice the public interest to their own aggrandizement. The actions of good men are generally, by their own nature, little seen; they have an effect only upon a limited circle. If we search history through, we shall find that the records of public virtue bear very little proportion to those of crime.

In the individual, there are propensities and desires constantly at work, to deteriorate the character; and unless he keeps himself from falling by vigorous and unremitting mental efforts, he will lose ground. In the body politic, these tendencies are more powerful; for vice, appealing to these propensities, spreads like contagion. Vice is more seen and more contagious in its example, than virtue. Every community contains, therefore, within itself, the necessary elements of its own destruction, which must sooner or later ensue.

This may be a discouraging view of human society; yet it is a true one. What has been since the earliest period of which we have any record, will be again. In the proud ages of the Roman republic, would any insult have been greater to a Roman, than to be told that the eternal city was destined to endure but a brief space, and was to be overwhelmed by the barbarians, whom he despised? Such has always been the case. Each flourishing nation has believed that it was exempt from the causes of decay which had been fatal to others, and was possessed of the power and wisdom which should ensure its durability. Yet it has fallen in its turn, and another has sprung up, fresh and vigorous, and carried forward the progress of religion, science, and civilization. No nation, then, can expect an imperishable existence, any more than an individual can expect immortality on earth. Yet, though one nation is not destined to retain its station at the head, and to lead the march of improvement steadily and uninterruptedly onwards; there is, nevertheless, a progress, although with many pauses, and even retrocessions. The popular belief is now, that these retrocessions are hardly possible; we are too far advanced, we must of necessity go on at an equal, or still accelerating pace. Yet the cool and impartial observer can discern many clouds in the present prospect. Hitherto, one nation has gone to decay, while another, youthful and vigorous, has been rising into im-

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portance. Nation after nation has become civilized; yet how slow has been their progress! Till the end of the fifteenth century, one quarter of the globe remained undiscovered, or known only to aborigines. Three great events took place in Europe, nearly at the same period; the discovery of printing in 1430–50; that of America in 1492; and the Protestant Reformation in the commencement of the sixteenth century. These events have given a sudden and violent impetus to the progress of improvement; and for the last four centuries, its march has been very rapid, at least in those countries which were previously civilized, or which have been rendered so by emigration, and the establishment of colonies. We can hardly say, indeed, that the limits of civilization have been much extended in any other way. Have the inhabitants of Asia, the quarter of our globe in which our race originated, and where the early germs of science and literature first appeared, — have they improved within the last three or four centuries? How is it in Africa? Do the descendants of the ancient Egyptians or Carthaginians show any very strong symptoms of a revival of learning among them? Even in Europe, have religion, learning, and science extended themselves, and produced the effects we might have expected? What is the present state of Greece, of Italy, of Spain, and even of Russia? Have there ever been witnessed, in any age or any country, transactions more unpropitious than occurred only forty years since, in France? To come to the American Continent. In South America, have the order, good government, and civilization, which existed in the mother country when it was colonized, taken root and flourished in the new soil? How is it, in a large portion of the United States? Are the marks of improvement in refinement, and in the absence of immorality and deeds of violence, very evident? To come still nearer home. Are there not scenes enacted, almost under our own eyes, which would have disgraced any government and any nation? If a faithful record of the morals, and of the various scenes of disorder and violence, which have taken place even within the last ten years, be transmitted to future times, shall not even we be entitled barbarians?

Has *religion* made such progress, and produced such effects, that we may reasonably believe that the consummation of all things is at hand? Our religion has, indeed, been gradually extending itself, since its foundation to the present time; but how very slow has been its advance. How large a portion of

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the world is still pagan. Moreover, how little is the true spirit of Christianity understood and practised, among the most favored of those who profess it. We have no reason to expect that the world will be converted by a miracle. The rational conclusion is, that the same order of events, that has hitherto been observed, will continue. We cannot say that there will not be manifest interpositions of Providence, or other revelations, in future times, as there have been in times past; but they will form a part of the same general plan with those that have preceded. We cannot suppose any alteration of the Divine purposes, which the conversion of the world by a miracle necessarily implies. We may, therefore, conclude, that Christianity will be ultimately extended to every corner of the earth, by the causes now in operation, and in like manner by the same causes, the different Christian sects will advance nearer and nearer to the truth, and consequently assimilate more and more to each other. If this be the case, Christianity is still in its infancy; and how vast is the progress that must be made before it can arrive at maturity! This progress cannot be smooth and equal. Very great are the obstacles it will have to encounter. Immense results have been and are looked for from the Protestant Reformation. Yet of late, since the bitterness which was formerly felt by Protestants against the ancient church has subsided, there has been somewhat of a reaction. The opinion appears to be extending in England, that the reformers went much too far, and that, perhaps, the most of the practices of the Romish Church were well founded. In our country, this faith has made many proselytes. These facts prove, either that the observances of the Romish Church were not so gross and absurd as they have been represented, or that we are not so much more enlightened than our ancestors, four centuries back. This is one of many instances that might be adduced to show that there are, and will be, fluctuations in religious faith. In those places, where a particular faith has prevailed and been supported by the most violent persecution, how often do we find it succeeded by one as different as possible? In the place, where Calvin burnt Servetus, how different is the doctrine that now prevails. In New England, how slight are the vestiges of the puritanism planted here by our forefathers. But it will be said, there is at least one gain. Persecution for religious doctrines is now at an end; public opinion is too much enlightened for men to be made to suffer, because their faith is

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different from the prevalent one. We might accede to this did not the ruins of a building in our vicinity tell a different tale. The act we refer to was not, indeed, openly avowed but it found such support in public opinion, that the perpetrators escaped with impunity.

In all forms of faith there is, doubtless, much error mixed with much truth; hence, many have attempted to select from them all the wheat, rejecting the chaff, and form a system of Eclecticism, or Catholicism, or one distinguished by some such appellation. But, as all men differ as to what is truth and what falsehood, each system of this kind must soon become distinguished by its adherence to some prominent points, and rejection of others; and thus they come no nearer to the establishment of an universal church.

It must be allowed, then, that our religion is in its infancy. It is the same with everything else. Take any one science. How vast is the field of discovery which it opens to us! The farther we advance, we still find it open wider and wider; we still see only how much more there is to be learnt. In geology, in chemistry, in all the other sciences, every new discoverer brings into view the errors of his predecessors, and shows how much of what has hitherto been regarded as truth must be abandoned, before further progress can be made. Thus, a greater part of the work of all leaders in science and knowledge consists not in building up, but in pulling down. But time generally shows that some part, at least, of the new systems is false; and that some part of those systems, which have become obsolete, must be revived. In very many of the sciences, we seem just to have found the right method of investigation; and that the true road to truth is but just discovered. The proper method of investigation in all science, dates only from the time of Bacon. If this is the case in the sciences, can it be doubted that it is the same in the arts, which depend upon them? Religion, science, the arts, in short, every branch of human knowledge, is, therefore, but yet in its infancy. Can we doubt that it is intended they should come to maturity, and this, by the same road which they have hitherto followed?

We have said that there were clouds to be discerned, which obscure the prospect of improvement. Carlyle has described the present state of the world to be a transition state; one of chaos and doubt, where all that is old and established is thrown from its foundations, and everything fixed is let loose. If this

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view of things is correct, — and there appears to be much of truth in it, — there must be many dangers in the future, if not of a relapse into the darkness of the middle ages, yet of a retardation of improvement. In this case, opinions are like ships, which have been loosed from their moorings, and abandoned to the waves of a troubled sea. They are deprived of the safety of their own harbor, and if they are not destroyed by concussion against each other, they are at last driven into ports, which may be far less safe than those which they have abandoned. Are there not some dangers of this kind, with regard, at least, to religious faith? If it is maintained, on the one hand, that the Christian revelation has lasted its time, and we have advanced beyond it; and if, on the other, one thing after another that has long been held sacred is brought into disrepute; shall we not be thrown into the chaos of skepticism? The natural result of the increase of skepticism will be a reaction in favor of the opposite extremes in religion, — bigotry, spiritual despotism, and superstition. In whatever degree this increase of skepticism and subsequent reaction should take place, in the same degree would the advance of knowledge be arrested or thrown back.

There are two dangers, then, to which society is now liable; and both are founded in the very rapidity with which we move onward. The first is the one just spoken of; of rejecting the acquisitions of former ages, in the idea that we have got beyond them; of believing that everything old is erroneous, and everything new wise and true. The other danger is, of paying too much attention to what is of immediate utility, and thus neglecting the solid foundations of learning and of improvement, and becoming altogether superficial. In fact, the only means of knowledge and improvement, are to be derived from the experience of the past; and those who would throw the acquisitions of former ages into oblivion, as useless, and commence a new era with the present time, would place us in the same position as the first man who lived on our globe, or even as animals of the brute creation. It has often been said that the great difference between men and brutes consists in the capacity of the former for improvement, and for profiting by the experience of the past; but the slightest acquaintance with almost any species of the brute creation, will show us that they are capable of profiting by their individual experience. The difference is, that they cannot profit by the recorded experience of

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their progenitors. The prudent investigator will allow that his ancestors may have been nearly as wise as himself, and he will treat their labors with reverence, weeding out, with a careful hand, what time has shown to be error, but leaving what he does not know to be such, until future inquiries have thrown more light upon the subject; not tearing it away, to be replaced by conjectures, perhaps still more erroneous.

We have thus endeavored to show, in the first place, that there is an actual advance in our course towards perfection; that there is an improvement, not the less certain for being gradual. Secondly, that this improvement is not steady and uniform, but subject to many relapses and retrocessions. Thirdly, that this course of things will probably continue for ages to come, nation after nation springing up and going to decay in the same manner in which they have done in time past; but yet that there will be an ultimate improvement. Religion will gradually become better understood, more powerful in its influence, and more extensive in its prevalence over the world. Lastly, that this improvement will take place not by a rapid march, but by a slow and interrupted course. If the world is now near six thousand years old; and religion, science, and the arts, are as yet but in their infancy, we can hardly expect that they will soon arrive at maturity.

But it may be asked, of what utility are inquiries of this kind? Why is it necessary to trouble ourselves with regard to the fate of our earth, long after we shall have ceased to exist, and our own destiny shall be sealed? We answer, that the question itself is of no practical importance, except as it relates to the fact of the capacity of our race for improvement. The real question which concerns us individually is; can we do anything to improve our race? The young and the sanguine answer, that immense effects may be produced by individual exertion; stupendous projects are every day starting into being, by which results, which have hitherto appeared incredible, will be produced; that this is the era of reform, and everything that is old is giving place to others, that are new and improved. They point to the higher and more correct notions of popular liberty that prevail, and are extending everywhere; to the greater facilities of intercourse between nations and provinces; to the general diffusion of knowledge and literature; and to the more energetic efforts employed in behalf of religion and morality. The older and more phlegmatic reply,

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that they doubt whether these innovations are improvements; they have seen schemes, from which the most beneficial results were expected, fall to the ground and abandoned for the older modes of proceeding. Opinions, which they have always held as unalterable truths, are now generally rejected, or even derided. Institutions, which they have always venerated, and which were consecrated by time, have been violated or destroyed. The new ideas of liberty seem to them the precursors of licentiousness, anarchy, and disorder. In religion, what they have deemed most sacred has been violated; and vice, immorality, and neglect of religion, have increased.

Perhaps there is less harm in the views of the former, than in those of the latter. The more men believe they can accomplish, the more they actually perform; and if they fall short of their expectations, they nevertheless accomplish more than if less had been attempted. The evil is that they become discouraged by repeated failures, and fall into the views of the other class.

He, on the other hand, who is rather a spectator than an actor in the game of life, may be more impartial in his conclusions. He will separate the bad from the good, and allow that amidst many failures, there is some progress. That if crimes and vice increase, in any particular community, virtue increases also, and the efforts for the promotion of religion and morality become more strenuous. If crimes of greater magnitude are perpetrated, there are also greater deeds of magnanimity and liberality, and more generous devotion to the amelioration of the less fortunate portions of society. That while one nation goes to decay or becomes corrupt, another rises fresh in moral and physical health. The acquirements of the former are not lost, but are transmitted to the latter, and thus the tide of improvement rolls on, wave after wave gaining upon its predecessor, although there may be a retrocession in the interval.

We are not, therefore, to be discouraged because the results of our labors, and those of others, are not attended with all the good which we have expected. We may be satisfied with the knowledge, that every individual can contribute his share towards the improvement of society. We have heard it stated, and with truth, that were every individual to do what he might do, and ought to do, with regard to his own character, the world would be reformed at once.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Discourse, delivered in the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, May* 3, 1840, *occasioned by the death of Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN, D. D., Pastor of the New North Church. Boston. 1840.
2. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., formerly Pastor of the Church on Church Green, Boston, and late President of Harvard University, delivered in the Church on Church Green, May* 3, 1840. By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840.
3. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard College, pronounced on Thursday, June* 5, 1840, *in the New South Church in Boston, before the Pupils of President Kirkland, and the Government and Students of the University.* By JOHN G. PALFREY, a member of the Class graduated in 1815. Cambridge: John Owen. 1840.

WE have waited for the appearance of the last of these eulogies, in order that it might contribute its portion to the memorial of Dr. Kirkland, which we have desired to preserve in our pages. We have felt that we have needed the assistance of other minds, to enable us to give even a sketch of the mind and character of the late President. How could we do justice to that various learning, which made him equal to all occasions, and to that easy felicity of manner, which threw a careless grace over offices which prove to so many others cumbrous and unbecoming; to that wisdom which probed into the heart of affairs and the bosoms of men, and that simplicity which won confidence, disarmed suspicion, and reassured the ignorant and timid; to that seasonable dignity, which he wore like a robe, but without sternness and without formality, and that gaiety of spirit and demeanor, which was the delight of his intimate friends, but never degenerated into irreverence or levity; to that justice, which dealt its awards with an equal hand, and that kindness, which flowed out from the kindest of hearts, and would hardly be checked even by the unworthiness of its object. When we allude to the improving intercourse, which for many years was granted us with this sage instructer, this sound divine, this practical Christian, this man of many gifts and virtues; to the happy influence which he exercised over the years of our college life, we only call to re-

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membrance obligations, which many others owed him. The benefits, which, as a clergyman, as President of our University, as a favorer of all good institutions, he conferred on the community, the community showed that they had not forgotten, when, though a long period of retirement and comparative inactivity had intervened, they lately flocked round his coffin with as fresh an interest, and with as ardent an offering of tears and honors, as if he had died in the prime of his powers and usefulness; and, perhaps, with a tenderer remembrance.

But we turn to the Discourses before us, and, where we find all that could be said of the late President so well said, willingly forego any further observations of our own. In the Discourses of Dr. Parkman, Mr. Young, and Dr. Palfrey, a noble and enduring monument has been erected to the memory of Dr. Kirkland. His warmest and most intelligent admirers could ask for no more fitting memorial than they are here presented with. We shall draw as largely from them as our limits will permit.

Dr. Parkman's discourse, from the words of the evangelist, "He was a burning and a shining light," though less in extent than either of the others, contains a biographical sketch, brief, but comprehensive, and an estimate of Dr. Kirkland's character, just and impartial. It is not a eulogy, but the rendering of a true verdict. It is the offering of a discriminating mind, and an affectionate and grateful heart. We draw from it the following outline of Dr. Kirkland's life.

"The late John Thornton Kirkland was born in the State of New York, within that part now included in Herkimer county, on the 17th of August, 1770. He was the son, and a twin-son of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who, partly through the influence of the celebrated Whitefield, with whom, in the course of his frequent visits to America, Mr. Kirkland formed an intimate friendship, united doubtless with the promptings of his own ardent mind, devoted himself to the arduous, and, as it sometimes proved, the hazardous work of a Missionary to the Indians; during his residence among whom some of his children were born; and the impressions which were made by the scenes of their early childhood never were effaced. The mother of Dr. Kirkland was a lady of distinguished gifts, which she consecrated in a meek wisdom to the education of her numerous family; and the fruits of her maternal faithfulness, though she lived not to witness them, were seen in the character of this, her elder son.

"His name, John Thornton, was given him in honor of an individual, known as an eminent merchant in London, and specially as the head of an excellent family, himself and his descendants for two or three generations remarkable, not more for their wealth than for their philanthropy; and he above them all, by the large sums, which, for a long series of years, he annually bestowed in aid of young men, who gave promise of usefulness in the ministry. It was probably by his friendship for Mr. Whitefield, who was himself patronized in his youth by

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the elder Thornton, and accustomed to celebrate his benefactor, that the father was led to bestow upon his son this honored name.

"During the revolutionary war, which rendered hazardous a residence among the Indians of Oneida, his father removed with his family, for their greater safety, to the western parts of Massachusetts; and in the pleasant village of Stockbridge, which at different periods has been honored as the residence of many eminent individuals, young Kirkland spent some of his youthful days. He was there bereaved of the care of his excellent mother, of whom he retained the tenderest remembrance, and for the benefits he derived from her character and cares, he was accustomed to express his deep obligations. From Stockbridge he was sent to Andover, as a pupil of the Academy in that place; and in 1785, with the patronage of the excellent Judge Phillips, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, for whose character he ever cherished a high respect, he became a member of Harvard University.

"For the winter vacation of 1787, while yet in the midst of his collegiate course, he was engaged to enter upon the instruction of a school. But the rebellion of Shays occurring at that time, and the Commonwealth requiring the services of some of its most active citizens for its suppression, young Kirkland, releasing himself from his school, enlisted as a soldier. He continued in service with the troops under the command of General Lincoln, till the object for which they were called, was honorably accomplished; exhibiting thus early the fervors of a patriotism, which always glowed in his breast, which with him was not a name or a pretence, as with some who boast largely, but a sentiment and a principle, prompting his most generous feelings and his noblest thoughts.

"After the completion of his academic course, in 1789, during which he gave indications of the eminence he was destined to attain, he became the Tutor of Metaphysics in the University, pursuing at the same time the studies of his chosen profession, till upon the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Rev. Oliver Everett, he was unanimously invited as his successor to the pastoral charge of the New South Church in this city, being ordained to that office on the 5th of February, 1794.

"Here, in a relation which was ever dear to him, he remained more than sixteen years, making full proof of his ministry; and by the weight of his preaching, though in the usual acceptation of the term, it could never be called popular; by the assiduity of his pastoral cares, which, though not manifested in a frequent social intercourse with the whole flock, still gave no occasion to the humblest to complain that they were overlooked, and in instances not a few, left durable impressions, as I can testify, at once of his discernment of the human heart, and his skill and tenderness in healing its sorrows; and, perhaps, still more, by the influence of his talents and character through the whole community, he became in a remarkable degree the object of the respect and love of his congregation. Among his hearers were many of the most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth, who at once honored him as their pastor, and cherished him as their friend. And in the mutual confidence they maintained, which was extensively shared by other eminent individuals, in various walks of life, Dr. Kirkland found some of his choicest personal satisfactions, and the means also of his widest influence." — pp. 9 - 13.

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"The election of Dr. Kirkland to the Presidency of Harvard University upon the death of Dr. Webber, in 1810, was with the cordial approbation of all its friends. Though he had not then exceeded his fortieth year, yet even before that period, when the appointment had been declined by his friend Mr. Ames, the public had selected him as the individual best qualified for that responsible trust. It was accepted, on his part, with the distrust that marks minds of superior excellence, proposing to themselves high aims, yet fearful of not attaining them, and with unfeigned regrets at relinquishing a connexion with his people, which had become mutually dear. The day, upon which he entered upon its duties, was a day of congratulation and exulting hope with all who loved the prosperity of our cherished seminary. And how fully their anticipations were realized; how well he justified the public hope; how the University prospered under his smiles, which have well been called a benediction, you, my hearers, who have known, and specially his pupils, that have loved him, need not my feeble tongue to declare." — pp. 19, 20.

"Preëminently indeed was President Kirkland qualified for a station, of which at all times the cares, and sometimes the trials, are commensurate with the honors. His happy genius and command of all his resources, his unfailing judgment, adequate to all emergencies, his searching penetration and discernment of character, which seemed like intuition; his love of youth, and clear perception at once of their capacities and their dangers; his charity, truly paternal, for their errors, and desire above all things for their virtue, — these excellent gifts, crowned by his wide reputation, and the confidence felt in the purity and elevation of his character, rendered him, above most men, the fit person for this office." — pp. 20, 21.

Mr. Young's discourse is such an one as might be expected from the biographer of Bowditch, and the author of the Biographical Sketches in the selections from the old English prose writers, — select, accurate, complete. With an eye, for which nothing is too minute, which may serve to throw the smallest ray of light on the subject of which he treats, he has a mind that takes large and liberal views of characters and events, and a judgment that measures out praise and blame with an impartial and discriminating hand. The great talent for this department of writing, so visible in his former productions, is not less conspicuous in this. Of itself, it presents a very full and satisfactory picture of the character and life of Dr. Kirkland. In connexion with the discourse of Dr. Parkman and that of Dr. Palfrey, it constitutes a volume, which every pupil and lover of the late President must desire to have in his hands. We can take from this discourse but a very small part of that which we should be glad to preserve in our pages. Mr. Young, after a very full narrative of the events of the early years of Dr. Kirkland's life, pauses for the purpose of considering and weighing his merits as a preacher, a pastor, a moralist, and a man of letters. He then returns

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to him as President of the University, and dwells at length upon the character and success of his administration, closing with a brief account of his last days. Of Dr. Kirkland, as minister of the New South Church, he thus speaks;

"Mr. Kirkland was now placed in an eminent position, and had a wide and noble sphere for the exercise of his powers; for, whatever may be said in praise of other stations, there is, for a man of superior talents, no higher place, no wider or nobler sphere of influence, than the Pulpit, in an enlightened and religious community, like this. He soon drew around him an intelligent and discriminating congregation, in which were some of the leading men of the times, who hung with profound attention on his lips, and whom he fed 'with wisdom and knowledge and understanding.' His preaching was characterized by an affluence and profundity of thought, and was highly prized by those who possessed corresponding qualities. Yet at the same time that he met the wants of the thoughtful and enlightened, he was equally acceptable to the less informed. He expressed his views so clearly that every one could comprehend them. A truly great man never has to condescend to any portion of his audience. If he really has thought in him, if his views are well formed and distinct, he need be under no apprehension that the people will not understand him. Their native sense will grasp whatever he has to offer that is worth grasping." — "At no time, indeed, did he enjoy the equivocal and undesirable reputation of being a popular preacher, as it is called, — the talk of the town, run after to-day, and deserted to-morrow for a new comer, a later favorite, whose preaching sounds to the people 'as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice.' As a sermonizer and pulpit orator he certainly was not to be compared with the illustrious Buckminster, who entered on the ministry eleven years after him; and I know not the man that has appeared in the American or the English pulpit in modern times who could be advantageously compared with him. As he himself once said, Mr. Buckminster introduced a new era in preaching. But in his day, and for a long period, Dr. Kirkland stood without a competitor in his profession. Probably no minister ever wielded, in this community, such a powerful and salutary, but at the same time unobtrusive and noiseless influence." — "Dr. Kirkland was a mighty moralist, and as an ethical preacher had no equal. He possessed a thorough, intimate, marvellous knowledge of man.

'He was a keen observer, and he looked
Quite through the ways of men.'

He sounded the lowest depths of the soul, and searched its most obscure recesses. He detected men's hidden motives and secret principles of action, and dragged them forth to the light. He laid bare the human heart, and dissected its minutest fibres. He revealed the sinner to himself, brought up afresh and disclosed to him what he had forgotten or concealed, and startled and terrified him by the view of his own soul. He tracked him through all his mazes, and stripped him of all his subterfuges and disguises. He left him no apology for doing wrong, no excuse for being a bad man." — "He was remarkable, too, for the comprehensiveness of his views, and the universality of his judgments.

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He generalized on a large scale, and generalized everything. He took a broad and liberal view of all subjects, and had a world-embracing philosophy as well as charity. He could not endure details, and cared little for isolated facts. He wished always to see their connexion, and to trace out their relation and bearing on other facts. I never met with a man who in social intercourse said so many things worthy to be remembered, and made so many remarks that you could not forget. His conversation was a succession of aphorisms, maxims, general remarks." — "Dr. Kirkland's preaching was of the same character with his conversation. It was sententious, and full of apothegms. There was not much visible logic and induction in his discourses. The description which he gives of Mr. Ames's writings is strikingly applicable to his own. 'When the result of his researches was exhibited in discourse, the steps of a logical process were in some measure concealed by the coloring of rhetoric. It was the prerogative of his mind to discern by a glance, so rapid as to seem intuition, those truths which common capacities struggle hard to apprehend. His style is conspicuous for sententious brevity, for antithesis, and point. Single ideas appear with so much lustre and prominence, that the connexion of the several parts of his discourse is not always obvious to the common mind, and the aggregate impression of the composition is not always completely obtained. His learning seldom appeared as such, but was interwoven with his thoughts, and became his own.'" — pp. 36, 37, 39, 40, 41.

After being elected to the Presidency of the University, Mr. Young continues;

"With his characteristic modesty, Dr. Kirkland used to say, that he was elected to the Presidency not for what he had done, but for what it was supposed he could do. It was with great hesitation and unfeigned reluctance that he accepted this honorable appointment, which severed the tie that bound him to an affectionate and beloved people; and their regret at parting was certainly as deep as his. So strong was his attachment to his parish, and so distrustful was he of his fitness for the high station, that he actually wrote a letter declining the appointment, but was dissuaded by some of his friends from sending it. In his letter to the church, asking for the dissolution of the pastoral connexion, he says, 'Would to God I had never been called to this trial, but been permitted to finish my life with you.'" — pp. 49, 50.

Our record would be very incomplete without one further addition from the Discourse of Dr. Palfrey before the pupils of Dr. Kirkland and the members of the University, remarkable throughout, as it seems to us, for its spirit and power of a true philosophical analysis, but especially so in the concluding estimate of the President's character, which, we think, will strike all who, from personal knowledge, are capable of judging, to be fair and honest in what it allows and what it withholds, as it is strong and eloquent in its expression.

"What has been hitherto said of President Kirkland," Dr. Palfrey concludes, "has been, for the most part, in the way of acknow-

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ledgment of distinguished excellence; and that it ought to be so, is implied in the existence of the feeling which has convened this assembly. Are there any qualifications to be made, in order to a just delineation? Without doubt there are. There can never be room for hesitation in replying to that inquiry. Should any be forward to deny, that he whom we extol possessed all capacities for his station in the excellent degree in which he possessed almost all, we are in no way concerned to contradict them. Had it been otherwise, he would have been 'that faultless monster, which the world ne'er saw;' and the last service which he would be willing to receive at our hands, and the worst kind of proof that we had profited by his influence, would be a willingness to assert for him an unfounded pretension, or to seek to underrate any virtue, grace, talent, or attainment, because it was not eminently his.

"Still it deserves to be said, that his defects, such as they were, stood before the view in the light of his services. Had the sphere and abundance of the latter been less, so much the less would there have been opportunity for the former to attract notice. It was the brightness of the luminary, that revealed its spots. Had he lived and labored in some inferior place, there would not have been the same occasion for the remark, that the magnificence and liberality of his administration of a high trust were not united with a punctiliously methodical attention to the details of business. It is pity that they were not. Such details have great importance; they have a valuable subserviency to the purposes of a generous policy; and it is unquestionably to be wished that he had sought, with more success, the benefit of the added efficiency which they afford. Occupying a position which caused the failure to be, more than it would have been in private life, a subject of observation and an occasion of regret, he failed in respect to that exact system in the distribution of time and engagements, which no man, except with a great affluence of other powers, can with any safety omit, and without which no man whatever is as happy or as useful as he ought to be; though, on the other hand, the absence of that particular system, which we ourselves adopt, is very apt to pass with us unreasonably for a rejection of all order; and certain it is, that, in some particulars which came under the notice of his pupils, the punctuality of the President was remarkable; and certain it is, further, that if, in the course of the multifarious occupations of his place, as they were then prescribed, — and injudiciously prescribed, in some respects, as we may freely say, since the arrangement has subsequently been altered, — if, under these circumstances, aught was omitted to be done, which might have received primary attention from persons trained in a different sphere of life, certain it is, that the great results produced were such as it belonged to a good and wise administration of the College to contemplate, and such as the most precisely systematic proceedings might well be satisfied to effect.

"There was in him an appearance of physical indolence; and there can be no doubt that exertion was less easy to him than to many other men. But only the more is the wonder, that the amount of his labors in a series of years was so great, and that single important tasks, falling to him from time to time in the course of his administration, were executed with such toilsome care. To say, that, in a guide of youth, it were to

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be desired that there had been more of enthusiasm, or, rather of the external expression of that quality, would be to say, what, perhaps, cannot be contradicted. But it amounts to no more than that, being a great man of one type, he was not of another. Commonly, the best that can be done is, to make a choice between prominent excellencies. Some classes of them do not easily subsist along with others, in equal ripeness. In the order of Providence, one man possesses one, and another another; and so, in the agencies of life, they turn out to be each other's complement. It may be right, that a man should confine his regards to some one subject, or class of subjects, instead of many. But, whether right or not under the given circumstances, he, whose habits incline him to do this, will ordinarily be the subject of stronger excitements, than he whose more capacious view embraces a larger prospect. In other words, the philosophical temperament has some repugnancy to the enthusiastic, and the former was peculiarly that of President Kirkland.

"The tendency may have been increased in him by a just perception of the dangers of the time when he lived. Inasmuch as he loved truth, he was disinclined to cant, which is its most subtle enemy; and he who eschews cant, is very likely to fall into a style of remark, which, to others not following the discriminations of his mind, may appear like indifference to that truth, of which it is often the most availing defence. The period was one of excited party spirit, in politics and in religion. To hint to either party, that it did not possess the truth completely and exclusively; that in it there was some imperfection, and something praiseworthy or plausible in the other; that there was some abatement to be made from the reputation of sentiments which were approved, and some allowance for those which were condemned; — this was not the part of enthusiasm, certainly, but it was a part conducing to charity and to peace. The soothing influence, which is exerted upon passion, was liable to be complained of as a chilling influence; and undoubtedly it must, after all, be owned, that the habit of seeking for something valuable in what is mainly worthless, or for extenuating traits or circumstances in what is blameworthy, or for defects in what is precious, may lead, with feebly discerning minds, to the loss of a proper love for what is amiable, and a proper aversion for its opposite. There are those, whose flow of right feeling must be a heady torrent, or else dry up. But he of whom we speak was not one of them. A more enthusiastic temperament than his might, no doubt, by its natural contagion, have communicated more of impetuosity to the young; but impetuosity, to the young, is not what most requires to be communicated. Calmness, caution, and forbearance, make much more of their need. A more enthusiastic temperament might have had a certain effect in infusing more of ardor into the love of truth and of letters, which was exemplified and enjoined; and this would have been well. But it would hardly have refrained from another office; — a zealot honestly presses his opinions; — and this would not have been well. Scarcely anything was more remarkable in President Kirkland, than his scrupulous respect for the rights and freedom of the mind in young as well as in old. With a more zealous temper, he could hardly have been so tolerant, and such a steady champion of toleration. Those claims of free inquiry, which so ably he defended before he assumed his academ-

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ical charge, his practice allowed afterwards, and secured, to all who came under his official superintendence. No one of them could pretend to say, that he ever attempted to bend them to an influence in favor of his own views on the debated questions of the time; and this forbearance, right in itself, was also, in the existing divisions, of the first importance to the prosperity of the institution, through its enjoyment of the public confidence.

"The President's mind, less inclined to system than to excursiveness and freedom, to individual action than to influence, to fervors than to realities, was undoubtedly one of rare penetration, sagacity, and extent and vigor of grasp. No wordy subtleties foiled his keen, shrewd, just observation; no affectations of profession or of conduct perplexed it. Seeing so clearly as he did, and so many things, he could not fail to have, at easy command, rich resources for illustration in the mutual analogies which they presented, and so to be able to flash into another's mind a conviction of truths, which many might have understood as well, but would have known no better how to combine and set forth than by weaving them in a colorless tissue of abstractions. Human nature was, above all, perhaps, his study and his science; and it was wonderful how, in single weighty periods of a set discourse, or in the playful freedom of conversation, he would throw light upon its mysteries, reconcile its contradictions, disentangle its blended impulses, lay bare the structure of the soul, and expose its morbid anatomy and its disordered functions. Nor less was this true of his perceptions of the diseased structure and action of institutions, and of the distemperatures of society, than of those of individual men. The conditions of social well-being, and the prevailing infringements of those conditions, stood clear before his view; and, in many an exigency of the state, did those who guided its affairs borrow light from his pregnant exhibitions of the causes and consequences of what engaged their concern. Scarcely was it possible for any one to part from him, after the most hasty interview, without carrying away something well deserving to be remembered. A sportive wit continually conveyed sense of the most solemn wisdom; and, indeed, one might hesitate to deny, that it was to the action of his mind in social intercourse, that its influence, and the estimate of its greatness among those who understood it best, are chiefly to be ascribed. And, as he taught and acted in society, so he studied there. While he was conversant with books, he also understood the valuable secret of making others, of more recluse habits, do much of his studious labor for him. Nor, while he made their minds tributary, were they less gainers than himself, — more than repaying, as he did, the knowledge of recent acquisition which he extracted from them, by those comments which showed them, in turn, how to regard it in interesting relations, and apply it to advantageous use.

"As far, it would seem, as man could well be, the President was free from selfishness. His disinterestedness was alike manifest in every form that can be named. He had no love of gain, none of advancement, none of display; and, if he had love of ease, he constantly denied it indulgence. Hence came the singular naturalness of his character. There was no consciousness to perplex and disable himself, and annoy the beholder with the artifices by which affectation applies for esteem and applause. There was no part to act, and therefore the part which

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the moment required was acted freely and well. There was no thought of exhibition, and therefore the faculties always wrought with their whole, easy, unembarrassed, graceful power. Hence, too, it was, that, while there was no parade of courage, nothing was ever done, or left undone, under the slightest influence of fear. Calculation of personal consequences, bad or good, is a thing, which they who knew the President do not think of as dictating any part of his course; and this perfect disembarrassment from the pursuit of personal objects, in a man high in public station, may be thought, in self-seeking days, a quality the more attractive for its rareness, and for its use as an example.

"To a man so disinterested, it was, of course, all the easier to be actively benevolent. Through its steadiness, and its study of occasions and means, his benevolence was seen to be a principle. In its promptness, ease, and universality, it looked rather like an instinct. To say that he was a liberal giver, is to say what is consistent with the rest, but every way less remarkable. His bosom was a perennial fountain of gentle, generous, joyous affections. There are those who have seen him, for a moment, annoyed and unbalanced; but they told of it with astonishment, and were listened to with incredulity. His was the benevolence of hearty communion with associates; of genuine sympathy with the happy and the sad; of gracious condescension to the humble; of patience with the perverse and the tiresome; of fitly-chosen encouragements to the dispirited; of prudent counsel to the perplexed; of seasonable, wholesome warning to the tempted; of courteous manners, and kind thoughts, words, and deeds, as varying occasion allowed, to all. It was an agreeable accident that brought any man in his way for a service, an interview, or a passing salutation. A perfect trust in the divine goodness — oftener expressed, and with as much glow and cheerfulness, as ever, in the time of his calamity, — and a faithful application of that Christian discipline, which, in one of his early letters, he declares himself to be directing to this special end, — these, added, no doubt, to an uncommonly happy natural constitution of mind, gave him a rare capacity for enjoying the good of life, and superiority to its evils and anxieties. And how far from superficial that discipline was, how thoroughly that temper had been kneaded into the soul, was seen, when, in the grasp of a disease which peculiarly is wont to make the years of its aged victim years of labor and sorrow, the temper was unruffled, the aspect was serene, the interest in others' welfare was quick and considerate, and, if the slow voice labored, it was but struggling for a greater fulness of placid and kind expression.

"So tranquil and self-possessed, — so sustained in great affliction by sufficient resources stored in other years, — went down our master to the tomb, which has seldom received a trust so precious." — pp. 51 – 61.

We are happy to be able to conclude this article with the following beautiful tribute to the memory of Dr. Kirkland, from the late Poem of Mr. Gray.

"Few — Ah how few! — can write a deathless name
On the proud fabric of a nation's fame,
Yet many, doomed at last to sleep unknown,
May bring, to swell the pile, a nameless stone,

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And all may give support to freedom's cause,
By favoring virtue, learning, and the laws,
Against each low intrigue their voices raise,
And cheer on merit by a generous praise;
Few can adorn the annals of an age,
But all may see they do not stain the page,
And each resolve, whate'er his lot may be,
My country's cheek shall never blush for me.
So will she honor him, till life is done,
And o'er his ashes mourn a worthy son.

"Such she now mourns, and more, since he is gone,
Who o'er yon halls so long illustrious shone,
Kirkland: — in wisdom clad, by genius graced,
And sportive humor, and unerring taste,
With power at once to rule, instruct, and please,
Mild dignity, and unaffected ease.
He stooped to lead the humblest on his way,
His bounteous hand was open as the day,
He roused indifference, recklessness controlled,
And cheered the timid, and o'erawed the bold;
In swift obedience all were proud to move,
The bonds of discipline made light by love.

"And in the sacred desk, how apt to teach?
Clothing in rare felicity of speech,
His thoughts, original, acute, profound,
He seemed to scatter truth and wisdom round,
While every ear in rapt attention hung,
To catch the treasures dropping from his tongue.

"In social life not less his worth appeared,
By all, who knew him, honored and revered;
With careless air, yet penetrating ken,
Gifted to look quite through the deeds of men,
Their hidden feelings, motives, thoughts, he knew,
Measured their strength, and saw their weakness too;
Yet ne'er — how few thus gifted so refrain,
Ne'er did he touch that weakness to give pain,
Nor rend its veil away — but all the while
Saw through its folds with pity or a smile.

"His writings with his character agree,
Stamped with an elegant simplicity.
And though clouds gathering o'er his closing day,
In darkness hid the intellectual ray,
The brief eclipse is now forever past,
And his worn spirit finds its home at last.
The record of his mild and brilliant reign
In Harvard's annals will its rank retain,
And while her walls shall stand or name survive,
So long his memory and his praise shall live." — pp. 31 - 33.

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2.

The Life of Alexander Hamilton. By his Son, JOHN C. HAMILTON. Vol. II. New York. 1840.

Ex. Hamilton

WE welcome with much pleasure, this new contribution to American history, which has at length appeared, after the lapse of six years since the publication of the first volume. The labor of compiling a work of between five and six hundred pages, consisting principally of a history of political debates, will probably account for this delay. Every addition of this kind, which throws light upon the views and motives of those, who bore a prominent part in the events which immediately succeeded our Revolution, and particularly in the establishment of our present form of government, must be of great value. It is by a careful study of the motives and actions of these men, and of the results of their proceedings as far as they have occurred, that the lover of his country is to guide his course in relation to the future. We live still too near their time to judge them with perfect impartiality. A writer, who certainly cannot be suspected of too strong a bias towards the subject of these memoirs, has called Hamilton the champion and representative of the principle of law; whilst Jefferson was the representative of the principle of liberty. Both of them, in his opinion, possessed first-rate talents, and the most elevated private character; they were both devoted heart and soul to the cause of American Independence, and evinced the sincerity of their patriotism by their unwearied and effectual exertions. If this is a correct view of the case, it will remain for the future history of the republic to show whether, in the zeal of the advocates of law to infuse sufficient vigor into the constitution, they gave it too much of a monarchic, or consolidated character; or whether the fears of the advocates of liberty rendered it too feeble, and the bonds of confederation too loose. Men, who are influenced by their prejudices, will adopt one or the other of these opinions, according as their love of order or their admiration of liberty leads them to one or the other extreme.

In the debates which arose in the very moment of peace, we may trace the origin and operation of the same principles and views, which have since prevailed in the country; and it is by the careful study and comparison of those debates, that an opinion should be formed of the measures which the welfare of the country now requires. If it be found, on careful examination, that the leaders of the two parties were equally pure in their motives; then the only question to be considered is in regard to the correctness of their judgment. Many of the tenets of these parties have already been tested by experience, and their failure

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daughter rocking our present venerable ex-president to sleep with the song of "Come, papa, come home to brother Johnny." How little dreamed she of the chair that infant one day would fill! From that hour, she gave up her husband to his country, as a Roman's wife sent her lord to the wars; but with far more blissful sentiments, with a firmer rock on which to rest her hopes. The noble woman signs herself *Portia;* but she was Judith and Mary of Bethany besides. Her character had been formed by the Bible, as in our halcyon, surpassing days, characters are rarely formed by it. See how she writes to her husband on the 16th October, 1774.

"Many have been the anxious hours I have spent since that day; the threatening aspect of our public affairs, the complicated distress of this province, the arduous and perplexed business in which you are engaged, have all conspired to agitate my bosom with fears and apprehensions, to which I have heretofore been a stranger; and, far from thinking the scene closed, it looks as though the curtain was but just drawn, and only the first scene of the infernal plot disclosed; and whether the end will be tragical, Heaven alone knows. You cannot be, I know, nor do I wish to see you, an inactive spectator; but, if the sword be drawn, I bid adieu to all domestic felicity, and look forward to that country, where there are neither wars nor rumors of war, in a firm belief, that, through the mercy of its King, we shall both rejoice there together.

"I greatly fear, that the arm of treachery and violence is lifted over us, as a scourge and heavy punishment from Heaven for our numerous offences, and for the misimprovement of our great advantages. If we expect to inherit the blessings of our fathers, we should return a little more to their primitive simplicity of manners, and not sink into inglorious ease. We have too many high-sounding words, and too few actions that correspond with them. I have spent one Sabbath in town since you left. I saw no difference in respect to ornament, &c.; but in the country you must look for that virtue, of which you find but small glimmerings in the metropolis. Indeed, they have not the advantages, nor the resolution, to encourage our own manufactories, which people in the country have. To the mercantile part, it is considered as throwing away their own bread; but they must retrench their expenses, and be content with a small share of gain, for they will find but few who will wear their livery. As for me, I will seek wool and flax, and work willingly with my hands; and, indeed, there is occasion for all our industry and economy." — pp. 26, 27.

That is what we commemorate on Bunker Hill, good people. Call you that a vulgar valor, a barbarian soul? Let the women, on whom New England now relies, who have lately offered their handiwork with fitting promptitude, to rear a monument to that virtue, imitate it, and kindle in themselves the same beautiful energy. Here is her stirring account of the Bunker Hill battle, written on the day after it took place.

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"TO JOHN ADAMS.

"Sunday, 18 June, 1775.

"DEAREST FRIEND,

"The day, — perhaps, the decisive day, — is come, on which the fate of America depends. My bursting heart must find vent at my pen. I have just heard, that our dear friend, Dr. Warren, is no more, but fell gloriously fighting for his country; saying, better to die honorably in the field, than ignominiously hang upon the gallows. Great is our loss. He has distinguished himself in every engagement, by his courage and fortitude, by animating the soldiers, and leading them on by his own example. A particular account of these dreadful, but I hope glorious days will be transmitted you, no doubt, in the exactest manner.

"'The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; but the God of Israel is he, that giveth strength and power unto his people. Trust in him at all times, ye people, pour out your hearts before him; God is a refuge for us.' Charlestown is laid in ashes. The battle began upon our intrenchments upon Bunker's Hill, Saturday morning about three o'clock, and has not ceased yet, and it is now three o'clock Sabbath afternoon.

"It is expected they will come out over the Neck to-night, and a dreadful battle must ensue. Almighty God, cover the heads of our countrymen, and be a shield to our dear friends! How many have fallen, we know not. The constant roar of the cannon is so distressing that we cannot eat, drink, or sleep. May we be supported and sustained in the dreadful conflict. I shall tarry here till it is thought unsafe by my friends, and then I have secured myself a retreat at your brother's, who has kindly offered me part of his house. I cannot compose myself to write any further at present. I will add more as I hear further.

"Tuesday afternoon.

"I have been so much agitated, that I have not been able to write since Sabbath day. When I say, that ten thousand reports are passing, vague and uncertain as the wind, I believe I speak the truth. I am not able to give you any authentic account of last Saturday, but you will not be destitute of intelligence. Colonel Palmer has just sent me word, that he has an opportunity of conveyance. Incorrect as this scrawl will be, it shall go. I ardently pray, that you may be supported through the arduous task you have before you. I wish I could contradict the report of the Doctor's death; but it is a lamentable truth, and the tears of multitudes pay tribute to his memory; those favorite lines of Collins continually sound in my ears;

'How sleep the brave,' &c.

"I must close, as the deacon waits. I have not pretended to be particular with regard to what I have heard, because I know you will collect better intelligence. The spirits of the people are very good; the loss of Charlestown affects them no more than a drop of the bucket. I am, most sincerely, Yours,

PORTIA."

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Four days after, she writes;

"We hear, that the troops destined for New York are all expected here; but we have got to that pass, that a whole legion of them would not intimidate us. I think I am very brave, upon the whole. If danger comes near my dwelling, I suppose I shall shudder. We want powder, but, with the blessing of Heaven, we fear them not. Write every opportunity you can." — p. 43.

And so she lived through the whole, in her little farm-house at Braintree, diligent in her housewifery and maternal cares, and aspiring after nothing brilliant for herself, being more than content with her home and its inhabitants, if she and they could enjoy it in peace. When the war was ended, she left her dairy and her orchard, to attend her husband at the Court of St. James; and we see the purity and strength of her character, in the superiority she evidently displays, to the brilliant and seductive follies of fashionable circles. In these circles, her virtues were much admired, even by those whose manners were opposed to them; and she reports something similar of her countrywomen in general.

"The American ladies are much admired here by the gentlemen, I am told, and in truth I wonder not at it. O, my country, my country! preserve the little purity and simplicity of manners you yet possess. Believe me, they are jewels of inestimable value; the softness, peculiarly characteristic of our sex, and which is so pleasing to the gentlemen, is wholly laid aside here for the masculine attire and manners of Amazonians." — p. 226.

We cannot refrain from copying into our pages one other letter, written from France in 1785, which will be interesting to those who have noticed, or have shared in the recent admiration of Ellsler, the German dancing-woman, who has been among us.

"TO MRS. CRANCH.

"Auteuil, 20 February, 1785.

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"This day eight months I sailed for Europe, since which many new and interesting scenes have presented themselves before me. I have seen many of the beauties, and some of the deformities, of this old world. I have been more than ever convinced, that there is no summit of virtue, and no depth of vice, which human nature is not capable of rising to, on the one hand, or sinking into, on the other. I have felt the force of an observation, which I have read, that daily example is the most subtile of all poisons. I have found my taste reconciling itself to habits, customs, and fashions, which at first disgusted me. The first dance which I saw upon the stage shocked me; the dresses and beauty of the performers were enchanting; but, no sooner did the dance commence, than I felt my delicacy wounded, and I was ashamed to be seen

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to look at them. Girls, clothed in the thinnest silk and gauze, with their petticoats short, springing two feet from the floor, poising themselves in the air, with their feet flying, and as perfectly showing their garters and drawers as though no petticoat had been worn, was a sight altogether new to me. Their motions are as light as air, and as quick as lightning; they balance themselves to astonishment. No description can equal the reality. They are daily trained to it, from early infancy, at a royal academy, instituted for this purpose. You will very often see little creatures, not more than seven or eight years old, as undauntedly performing their parts as the eldest among them. Shall I speak a truth, and say that repeatedly seeing these dances has worn off that disgust, which I at first felt, and that I see them now with pleasure? Yet, when I consider the tendency of these things, the passions they must excite, and the known character, even to a proverb, which is attached to an opera girl, my abhorrence is not lessened, and neither my reason nor judgment has accompanied my sensibility in acquiring any degree of callousness. The art of dancing is carried to the highest degree of perfection that it is capable of. At the opera, the house is neither so grand, nor of so beautiful architecture, as the French theatre, but it is more frequented by the *beau monde*, who had rather be amused than instructed. The scenery is more various and more highly decorated, the dresses more costly and rich. And O! the music, vocal and instrumental, it has a soft, persuasive power, and a dying sound. Conceive a highly decorated building, filled with youth, beauty, grace, ease, clad in all the most pleasing and various ornaments of dress, which fancy can form; these objects singing like cherubs to the best tuned instruments, most skilfully handled, the softest, tenderest strains; every attitude corresponding with the music; full of the god or goddess whom they celebrate; the female voices accompanied by an equal number of Adonises. Think you that this city can fail of becoming a Cythera, and this house the temple of Venus?

'When music softens, and when dancing fires,'

it requires the immortal shield of the invincible Minerva, to screen youth from the arrows which assail them on every side.

"As soon as a girl sets her foot upon the floor of the opera, she is excommunicated by the Church, and denied burial in holy ground. She conceives nothing worse can happen to her; all restraint is thrown off, and she delivers herself to the first who bids high enough for her. But let me turn from a picture, of which the outlines are but just sketched; I would willingly veil the rest, as it can only tend to excite sentiments of horror." — pp. 279 - 281.

So dost thou write in 1785, thou scion of the good old puritan stock. Yet time will come, that one of those same damsels, whose bewitching graces thou dost acknowledge, and mourn, and pity, shall be crazing the heads of thy country's legislators and citizens, and contributing from her enormous gains, to raise thy country's *monumental* tribute to thee, thy husband, and his compeers.

To pass to a different matter. It is interesting to find a co-

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temporary notice of Washington, from such a woman, before he had become known to the world, and when admiration was not matter of course.

"I was struck (she says) with General Washington. You had prepared me to entertain a favorable opinion of him, but I thought the half was not told me. Dignity, with ease and complacency, the gentleman and soldier, look agreeably blended in him. Modesty marks every line and feature of his face. Those lines of Dryden instantly occurred to me:

> 'Mark his majestic fabric! he 's a temple
> Sacred by birth, and built by hands divine;
> His soul 's the deity that lodges there;
> Nor is the pile unworthy of the god.'

General Lee looks like a careless, hardy veteran, and by his appearance, brought to my mind his namesake, Charles the Twelfth, of Sweden. The elegance of his pen far exceeds that of his person." — pp. 51, 52.

From her public life, Mrs. Adams returned, not only contentedly, but gladly, to her early home, to her housewifery, her garden, and her dairy. The last letters of the volume treat of strawberry vines, of pigs, and of hay; as the earlier ones had treated of war, diplomacy, and kings. She was adequate to all occasions; from the all-sufficiency of that Being, on whom she habitually relied. She had the virtues of a patriot and of a woman; and united in herself many Christian graces, which are not often conjoined in the same character. While she was courageous, and patriotic, and full of energy, she was also gentle, and amiable, and tender-hearted. She was devout and cheerful; she was thoughtful and wise; she was simple, sincere, and modest; she was full of sensibility and fine sentiment; yet she looked well to the ways of her household, and ate not the bread of idleness. "Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously; but thou excellest them all. Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised."

4. *Social Life in Germany. Illustrated in the acted Dramas of H. R. H. the Princess Amelia of Saxony.* Translated by Mrs. JAMESON. London. 1840.

WE have perused these two volumes with much pleasure, both on account of the interest of these dramas themselves and of the agreeable pictures which they present of German manners.

If these are, indeed, as the translator represents them, true sketches of social life in Germany, there must be much greater

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purity of morals among the inhabitants, than prevails in most other countries of the continent. A recent writer in an English magazine has attempted to show the general corruptness of German manners from the delineations of Goethe. It may be fair to set off these dramas against the specimens quoted by him, and the whole will afford proof, that if vice and laxity of morals are to be found in Germany, as well as elsewhere; still there, as elsewhere, the pure mind can find sufficient to dwell upon with pleasure and satisfaction. We find in these dramas, as Mrs. Jameson herself tells us, a high charm in "their unexceptionable moral tone, their exceeding elegance and unexaggerated truth, their earnestness of purpose, that something warm from the heart, beyond the flight of eloquence or the play of wit." Instead of the artifices, tricks, and subterfuges, which are exhibited for our admiration in the personages of nearly all comedies, it seems to be the principal object of the royal authoress to inculcate a high-minded regard to ingenuousness and morality. It is a remarkable fact, that these dramas were produced and obtained their reputation whilst the authoress remained unknown; an evidence that it was to their intrinsic merit, and not to the high station of the writer, that they owed their popularity. Their success, while it speaks favorably of the character of the people before whom they were acted, affords a proof that dramatic performances may be popular, and at the same time be unexceptionable. To say nothing of the good or bad tendency of theatrical representations in general, we may at least wish, that while the stage exists among us, it should be rendered as pure as possible.

These dramas are simple and familiar representations of social life, as it appears in the three classes of society. It may be objected, that the writer could know little of middle and humble life; but the human heart is everywhere the same, and the individual, who makes it her study in one grade, will not greatly err in attempting to describe it in the others; the virtues, which become the peasant or the merchant, show to even greater advantage in the courtier and the king. We are more touched with the representation of the humbler virtues in the inmates of a palace, than we are with deeds of greatness, because they are more unexpected, and more rarely find record in history.

Mrs. Jameson's translation is pure and elegant, and, to judge from the interest excited, we should pronounce it to have lost none of the spirit of the original.

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Airs of Palestine, and other Poems. By JOHN PIERPONT. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 334.

MANY of these poems have been long before the public, and are in possession of an honorable fame, which must be permanent. Vigorous, elegant, correct, they have long since passed out from the list of ephemeral verses, into the catalogue of good things, which are read because good, and not because new. We are glad to see them collected together. We have long desired it; and are only sorry to be obliged to qualify our expression of satisfaction with a regret, that they are not alone; that they are bound up with many other pieces, which should have been left to pass away with the occasion that called them forth. They would have made, by themselves, an uncommonly choice volume; a volume, full of spirit, dignity, grace, and melody. In the lyric department, especially, there are pieces of preëminent merit; hymns and odes, of great terseness, energy, completeness; not on one key alone, but on many; mournful as well as joyous, fiery and indignant, as well as stately and calm. It is remarkable, that the later poems of this class have more vehemence and less carefulness than the earlier; frequently they are dashed with an off-hand and colloquial freedom, sometimes possibly a little too venturesome, but very effective; and, as they were written for immediate use, for the extemporaneous rebuke of measures, which have as much folly as wrong in them, it is perfectly natural that the severe tone of satire should have been mixed with the laugh of contempt; and this of course is colloquial. They remind us of the description of Paganini's musical performances, when he has been said to make his fiddle "laugh," and "shriek," as he lashed the creature with his bow, to make it express the humor of the moment.

We are crowded into too small a compass to be able to pursue our remarks into minute criticism, or to cite passages which would explain and justify what we have said. We must rest content with this general expression of our admiration of the true poetry which the book contains; it is not necessary to speak distinctly of those portions, to which this praise cannot be given.

The Monument. Edited by Mrs. S. J. HALE. Seven Numbers. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 1840.

"THE MONUMENT" is the name of a newspaper of large octavo size, printed on each day of the celebrated Bunker Hill Fair. It answered its design very well, we suppose, inasmuch as by its sale it served to swell the general sum. But besides this its

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principal merit, its pages furnish quite respectable communications, both in poetry and prose. The following remarks, by the Editor we presume, are from an article entitled "Is Self-defence Morally Right?"

"From all we can gather from history, of the experience of the past, or from the requirements of the Gospel, we are convinced that permanent peace will never be established throughout the world, till other sins, besides those of war, are exposed and corrected. Lust, pride, envy, jealousy, avarice, intemperance, — these are the bitter root of dissensions. 'First *pure*, then *peaceful*,' is the requisition of the apostle. And it appears to me, that nothing will be gained by urging this subject of peace, unqualifiedly, upon the community. But if we take the ground that none but defensive wars, according to the definition given in the beginning of this paper, — that is, a war merely to repel aggressions, and which is not incited by any selfish passion, seeking its own gratification, but submitted to as an evil, only more tolerable than the sacrifice of justice, humanity, and freedom of conscience, — if we take the ground that none but such defensive wars, should be permitted by any Christian government, we might, doubtless, enlist popular opinion to carry out the theory. And would not this be gaining the victory over the worst evils of war? Certainly, if all Christian nations would recognise this principle, and bind themselves to perform it, there would be no fightings among each other, because there would be no aggressions. And the heathen would see that the Christian religion, in freeing the nations who professed it, from the fear of each other, was truly what it professed to be, the bond of good will among men.

"It is often the case, that the most salutary reforms are defeated or postponed for an indefinite period, in consequence of the over-wrought zeal of those who urge them forward, without any limit or qualification. The thing is good and right, therefore it must be done at once. But God teaches us, both in his works and in his word, to expect a progressive improvement only. Throughout the whole material world, this progress is marked; creation was a continued process, not one act. And thus, in the development of the human powers, and in the moral renovation of man, the work is to be perfected only by slow degrees." — p. 22.

This is good sense and sound argument. We have seen no objections urged against the Monument of sufficient force to prevent the expression of our satisfaction at the success of the measures lately adopted for raising the sum necessary for its completion. We congratulate those who have devoted themselves so laboriously to the work, that they have at length succeeded, where so many before them have been driven back, baffled and defeated. We would rather that the zeal of our community had been hearty enough to have finished it the year it was begun; but we experience no sense of mortification, that its completion has been delayed until now. It is not unusual, in older countries, for great national

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monuments, or large and costly structures, columns, arches, temples, or cathedrals, to be begun by one generation, and finished by another. And it is far better, it seems to us, that magnificent works of art, in honor either of religion, or of great men and events, should, in this manner, be erected by the joint efforts of even successive generations, — if such be the only alternative, — than that works of an inferior character, both for extent and material, should be hastily and imperfectly built out of the inadequate and strained resources of some single period. So that, though it should prove in the sequel that the sum now obtained is deficient, we trust that instead of curtailing the monument of any of its fair proportions to meet such deficiency, — as we believe it was determined by the board to do some few years since, — it will be roofed over and stand another ten years, if necessary, till the requisite funds shall be forthcoming.

We say that we are glad the monument is in the way to be completed. We are glad that it was projected, and that the design has been so far successfully prosecuted. A great deal of money has, indeed, been expended upon it, which might have been devoted to worthier objects. But would this same money have been devoted to such objects? We suppose not. It would probably have remained in the hands of its possessors. And supposing it would have been; are none but the highest and noblest objects to have our regard? There is wealth enough in the community, we believe, for all; for the less, as well as for the more elevated. While so much is expended by those who think themselves, and are esteemed by others, to be among the most righteous, upon the needless embellishment of their persons, their dwellings, and estates, let it not be held an unpardonable sin, that a sum not very large, and easily spared by the ten thousands from whom it has been drawn, in dollars or cents, is applied to a structure, grand and beautiful as a work of art, and affecting, as a monument commemorative of the great and good deeds of great and good men. We can detect no moral guilt in a subscription to this monument, unless it can be shown that, while we profusely lavish our means upon works of taste or mere ostentation, we with a niggard parsimony withhold them from objects of real utility; that other higher claims are neglected — which, as we judge, it would be difficult to do. Our institutions of charity, religion, education, are not neglected for columns, statuary, or galleries of painting. They are munificently endowed. They are flourishing, through the voluntary offerings of the rich, the humane, and the patriotic. More might be done, — *more* always may be done, but very much has been done. For ourselves, we would utter no word of complaint; but

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in the spirit of sincere gratitude to those who, living or dead, have fostered by their liberality our hospitals, asylums, and colleges, express the hope that they who in our own day have risen by industry, good fortune, or inheritance, to the possession of great wealth, may feel the obligations under which they also lie, to contribute of their superfluity to works and objects of common utility, only with such judgment, that they shall not, by their benefactions, offer any premium to vice or idleness. When these greater interests have been secured, we should truly rejoice, if the lesser interests of taste were not neglected; if something were done to satisfy our love of what is merely beautiful. Do we not need the softening and the polish to be added to our national character, which a more general knowledge of, and devotion to the fine arts would tend to impart? We can never deem such devotion of time, means, affection, to such objects morally blameworthy, so long as Heaven paints the tulip's cup, the clouds at sunset, and the breast of a humming-bird.

The objection to the monument, that it violates the great principles of peace, we cannot sympathise with, any more than with that just noticed. Life is not the best thing, nor war the worst, as the extreme advocates of peace would have us believe. Honor, — using the word in its best sense, — is worth more than life, liberty is worth more, a good name is worth more, the safety and innocence and virtue of those we love are worth more. For any of these he does well, who gives up, what, in the comparison, is the merest dross, — his life. We would erect a monument of honor and praise in our hearts, — of marble, too, if we could, — to him, who, rather than stand idly by with folded arms, while a mother, a wife, or a daughter, was borne away to slavery, or worse, obeyed the impulses of his nature, and saved innocence, virtue, or life, by taking life. What were the lives of many so taken, compared with the salvation wrought out for the weak and the innocent? And what the soil contracted by the soul of their slayer, compared with that which would have defiled it forever, had he stood for peace, rather than for innocence and right. So it is, we think, with nations. Sooner than be insulted, trampled upon, enslaved, sooner than tamely endure the aggressions of a selfish, tyrannic, haughty power, — if there be no other way, — let life be freely offered up; let it be poured out like water; let the bones of half a generation whiten the field of battle. Life, which is a thing of infinitely less account than liberty, than the respect of others, and our own, has indeed been sacrificed in hecatombs. But the exchange has been profitable, not only immediately for the national glory, but, in a wider estimate of consequences, for morals, virtue, religion, nay, and for peace itself. Rights, jus-

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tice, first; then peace. There can be no lasting peace, that is not founded in a general virtue; in the justice and righteousness of one nation, as well as the submissiveness of another. When we cease to honor, in every way, those who carried on our Revolution to its successful issue, by the free expenditure of their blood and treasure, may we lose the possession of the inheritance they won and have bequeathed.

But we began these remarks with a different purpose. We are the advocates of national monuments. They are, if not greatly useful, at least a harmless expression of generous feelings. We are inclined to believe in their positive utility. Yet we admit, we can spare them. They are not among the moral essentials. And we would say, never let them rise until more urgent duties have been first discharged. In the present case, we think society has erred in its choice of duties. There was one other, at least, which should have had priority of this. We refer to the rebuilding of the Convent at Charlestown. We confess to a feeling of shame and guilt, when we look at the aspiring column on Bunker Hill, and turn our eye upon the ruins of the Ursuline Convent on the neighboring height. Those walls should long ago have been restored. If the infamy, which attaches to those who projected and engaged in the work of their destruction, and those who stood by and applauded, though they committed no overt act, and to those who laughed when justice was afterwards mocked and cheated of her victims, can never be extenuated or washed away, neither can that which shall hereafter attach to our *whole community*, if it make no reparation for the injury inflicted upon the innocent by some of its members, if it fail to set the seal of its indignant reprobation upon the deed of that ferocious, cowardly mob, by some such intelligible sign as the reërection of the demolished structure, the reimbursement of the total loss sustained, and the cordial invitation to the dispersed fugitives to return and reinhabit in peace their long abandoned home. It is nothing that we *say* we regret the past; it is nothing to confess that we stand justly dishonored in the eyes of the nation and the world. Words are but breath. Repentance must be shown by deeds. There must be ample remuneration; there must be complete restitution; there must be a public pledge of future kindness and protection. Nothing less can make our atonement. Nothing less can make our peace, — not with the wronged Catholics, for they have uttered no complaint, as they have attempted no retaliation, — but with ourselves, and the spirit of our insulted constitution, our violated Faith.

We are astonished at the insensibility which has so long delayed the performance of this religious duty. It is now five years

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that justice has slept. It is five years that we have been content to see the odium of religious intolerance, even unto persecution in its most revolting form, resting upon our Capital, and its neighborhood. Not satisfied with the ill name we have inherited from our persecuting ancestors, for whom many an extenuating clause may be found, we seem resolved to heap new infamy upon that name, first, by an act on the part of a few of not less savage cruelty than any our fathers were guilty of, and then by a delay or refusal of justice on the part not of a few, but of the whole body of our people. In its present aspect, the case is black enough. We truly believe, however, we trust we are not mistaken, that our guilt lies no deeper than a criminal apathy. But if this lasts much longer, it will look very much like a sullen, silent approbation of what we dare not openly justify. We can fully enter into the feelings of a gentleman in our neighborhood, distinguished not more for his wealth than his high sense of justice, who, as is reported, upon being asked to subscribe to the Bunker Hill Monument, replied, "not till the Convent is rebuilt." So should have answered every individual in the city and the neighborhood. So we believe multitudes would have answered, had not time almost blotted out the memory of an event, which so many reasons make it painful to remember; which, like other misdeeds, we are so willing to forget. But the memory of that event must be kept alive, until the day of restitution shall come. We can hardly doubt, that were a movement once made, in a right quarter and a right manner, the day of restitution might be *to-day*. And happy, indeed, would it be for New England, and the influence of her character at home and abroad, for her present honor and her future fame, if the same day that witnessed the completion of the Monument on Bunker Hill, beheld the convent risen again from its ruins, and restored to its rightful possessors.

Two Sermons on the Kind Treatment and on the Emancipation of Slaves. Preached at Mobile, on Sunday the 10th, and Sunday the 17th of May, 1840. *With a Prefatory Statement.* By Geo. F. Simmons. Boston: W. Crosby & Co. 1840. pp. 30.

We are glad that Mr. Simmons has published the Sermons preached by him at Mobile, on the subject of Slavery. Whatever opinion one may have of the good judgment shown in delivering discourses of such a character in a Southern pulpit — no one, we think, would find it easy to say beforehand what he would or would not do, placed in the same circumstances — there can be but one opinion as to the admirable manner in which he treated the

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"rugged question," when it came up before him. Truths are stated, necessarily unpalatable to the slaveholder; but he is treated throughout with Christian courtesy, — not a violent or ungentle word is to be found in either discourse. Yet are they bold, manly, independent. As it would not be easy for the topics handled in them, — the duties of compassion toward the slave, and the Christian duty of emancipation, — to be managed with kinder consideration for the difficult position of the slaveholder, while at the same time the truth was uttered freely, it proves to our mind, that the Southerner cannot and will not endure the discussion of the subject, nor allow that the religion which he professes, at least to honor, may take cognizance of it, except, perhaps, in certain prescribed relations. The experiment upon his magnanimity could not have been more fairly tried. The subject was presented with modesty, it was treated ably, and, as we have said, in the spirit of the gentlest humanity, as well toward the master, as the slave. The experiment could not have more signally failed. The preacher was driven from the pulpit and the city.

As the preaching of these discourses has often been spoken of as the effect of an inconsiderate and intemperate zeal, we have been particularly gratified to see the statement made in the preface, showing how far such a charge is from the truth. The sermons were preached in the month of May, yet *at the beginning of the winter*, Mr. Simmons had used the following language, in a letter to the trustees of the church, in reply to their invitation to him to become their permanent pastor.

"Moreover, were I ready to settle, the state of the public mind here with regard to slavery, would, I fear, not tolerate my presence. Believing, as I do, that slavery is wrong, and that man cannot hold property in man, the occasion calling for the expression of these opinions, could not long fail of presenting itself, especially in the exposition of those passages of Scripture, which condemn, or which are thought to favor, the depression of a portion of the race into the condition of involuntary servants. On such occasions, I should preach what I believe to be the truth, with the utmost openness, and thereby draw public odium upon myself and upon the church. This result you would greatly deprecate.

"Nevertheless, were good of peculiar magnitude to be accomplished thereby, I should not hesitate to expose myself to whatever peril there might be from this quarter. But, &c." — Preface, p. iv.

Here is satisfactory evidence of a calm and thoughtful deliberation.

We have space but for one brief extract, but it is the most *inflammatory* one in either discourse, and it will enable the reader to judge, whether the preacher most deserve censure or the people commiseration.

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"The question, as a question of Right and of Religion, seems to be very plain. Slavery is wrong. We can own servants only as we own wives and children. They cannot be a part of our property; nor, without great injustice, can they be treated as such. This conclusion, indeed, is not in general controverted. While it remains abstract and general, it is allowed. But when we come to apply it to our own circumstances, we are perplexed with doubts, and a thousand insuperable difficulties are thought to present themselves before us. The incapacity of people long inured to bondage, their reluctance to work except when compelled, our entire dependence on them for the necessary labor in our fields and houses, are supposed to make it necessary to continue the bondage of the present generation. But in a few years the present generation will be gone; and does this reason apply to the generation that is to come? May not the law decree the freedom, and provide for instruction in necessary knowledge, and for the necessary discipline and protection, of those born after the present time? May it not mitigate the condition of those now living, by permitting them to be instructed, by securing them in their families from forced separations and from violation of their sacred rights? Ought not some limit to be set to the freedom with which they are bought and sold? In short, *if Slavery be wrong, ought not the removal of it to be the settled policy of the people among whom it exists?*" — pp 27, 28.

Scripture Truths, in Questions and Answers; for the Use of Sunday Schools and Families. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1840.

This little manual is conceived on an excellent plan, and executed with ability. It forms a very valuable addition to our stock of Sunday School Books, and will, we hope, be widely adopted. The author has thrown the book into the form of question and answer, the answer being for the most part in Scripture language; so that, while the child is receiving his religious instruction in a methodical manner, he is at the same time storing up in his memory the most pregnant passages of the Old and New Testaments. The design of the author is thus stated in the preface.

"The design of this little work is a practical one: to form in the minds of the young the great principles of piety, morality, and true religion, and the graces of the Christian temper, as they are exhibited in the Bible. Without neglecting or interfering with this object, the author was desirous of making this manual a vehicle of Scripture truth, in teaching that the Father is the Only True God, and that Jesus Christ is to be honored as his Son and Messenger, but not as his equal. In the Notes and the Appendix, explanations of certain texts have been given in accordance with this view, *for the information of Teachers*, who may not have ready access to books and commentaries, to be used by them or not, according to their own judgment, and the age and capacity of the children under their care." — p. iv.

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We are happy to meet with a manual, which is not only negatively, but positively and strongly Unitarian. Notes, containing explanatory remarks, are scattered along through the volume, as in connexion with the following question and answer.

"*Q.* What is the great doctrine taught by Moses and the Prophets, as the foundation of true religion?

"*A.* That there is one God, the Creator, Governor, and Judge of the world, the Greatest and the Best of all Beings, and that He alone is to be worshipped by men.

"NOTE. There are two or three passages in the Old Testament, in which the plural pronouns *us* and *our* are used when God is speaking of himself, as in Gen. i. 26, 'And God said let *us* make man in *our* image,' &c. See also Gen. xi. 7, and Isaiah vi. 8. This is sometimes urged by Trinitarians as a proof that there is a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The true explanation of these passages is easily to be found by considering that, in all languages, persons of great power and dignity sometimes speak of themselves in the plural number. Thus the English sovereigns and other monarchs, in their public messages and decrees, use such expressions as these; 'It is *our* pleasure,' 'Given at *our* palace,' '*We* command this or that.' The letter of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, commences in these terms; 'The letter which ye sent unto *us* hath been plain y read before *me*.'" — pp. 6, 7.

The manner in which this little volume is executed will be seen in the following extract, from the eleventh lesson.

"*Q.* What is meant by *repentance?*

"*A.* That true sorrow for sin which produces amendment of life.

"*Q.* Are *all* men in need of repentance?

"*A.* 'All have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' Rom. iii. 23. 'In many things we all offend.' James iii. 2. 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' 1 John, i. 8.

"*Q.* Why has God sent his messengers to call men to repentance?

"*A.* Because he is a God of compassion and love, and desires our happiness; and because sin is the worst enemy to our happiness, both in this life and the life to come. 'He that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul; all they that hate me love death.' Prov. viii. 36.

"*Q.* What is it, which puts us in a state of enmity with God?

"*A.* 'Your iniquities have separated between you and your God.' Isaiah, lix. 2.

"*Q.* The Gospel is called the word of *reconciliation;* and God is said in Scripture to *reconcile* us to himself through Christ: what is meant by these expressions?

"*A.* That through the mission of Christ and the power of his Gospel we are led to renounce the sins which have made us enemies to God, and thus to become *reconciled* to him, that is, restored to a state of favor and friendship.

"*Q.* What is meant by the word *atonement* in Romans v. 2?

"*A.* Reconciliation. It is the same word which in all other passages of the New Testament is translated reconciliation.

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"*Q.* On what may we safely rely for the forgiveness of our sins when we truly repent?

"*A.* On the unchangeable goodness and fatherly mercy of God, as revealed in the Gospel and in the character of his Son, who loved us and gave himself for us.

"*Q.* Is God always ready to forgive and receive the penitent?

"*A.* 'There shall be joy in Heaven,' says our Saviour, 'over one sinner that repenteth.' Luke xv. 7. Read also the parable of the Prodigal Son, in the same chapter. 'Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.' Is. lv. 7.

"*Q.* What is meant by *regeneration?*

"*A.* Such a change of feelings and principles, of heart and of life, as makes a man a true Christian." — pp. 34 – 36.

The Young Maiden. By A. B. Muzzey, author of the Young Man's Friend, Sunday School Gnide, &c. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 260.

It is no easy work for one of our sex to write a proper and a useful book for young women. Yet, among the departments of plain and familiar teaching, into which the whole subject of education is now divided, the communication of discreet and sound elementary instruction to "young maidens" is undoubtedly a most necessary work. A faithful parish minister has peculiar facilities for performing the work well. His thoughts are often occupied with those subjects, which he would be required to treat. His visits from house to house, his acquaintance with many individual characters, which is as intimate as any one can enjoy in several households, put him in possession of those examples from real experience, which are the life of didactic morality. Mr. Muzzey's former works have exhibited the interest which he has taken in the young of his flock, and how from that interest has sprung a desire to diffuse the results of his care and labors over a wider circle. His books for the young express natural sentiments in simple language. He is judicious in the treatment of subjects where much discretion is required, and from what we know of his former labors, we should not hesitate to put in circulation any book which bore his name. To extol the book now before us with the indiscriminate praise of a favorable criticism, would be no recommendation to it. The subjects which it treats admit of great variety in the mode of their discussion. Now at this day, when both a political and a philanthropic party advocate the rights of women, as demanding for them equal influence with men on some public occasions, it becomes more difficult to

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treat of the relations and duties of females so as to please all. The fourteen chapters of the "Young Maiden," discuss the following subjects: The Capacities, Influence, and Education of Woman; Home; Society; Love; Single Life; Reasons for Marriage; Conditions of True Marriage; Society of Young Men; First Love; Conduct during Engagement; Trials of Woman, and her Solace; Encouragements. Thus it will be seen, that just half of the chapters are devoted to the treatment of what are spoken of generally as the affairs of the heart. We are aware of the objections, which some have to the introduction of these subjects in books designed for young females, and we are fully persuaded that they had better be left out altogether, unless they are treated with remarkable discretion. We see nothing to censure in Mr. Muzzey's manner of discussing these subjects. He thinks them deserving of extended treatment, in exact proportion to the degree of interest which they have for young women, and it is because he has discharged this difficult part of his labor well, that we think highly of his book, which is worthy of commendation for the character of its other contents.

Proverbial Philosophy; being Thoughts and Arguments originally treated. By MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER, Esq., A. M. Second Edition. Boston: J. Dowe: 1840. 12mo. pp. 114.

ALTHOUGH we decidedly prefer straight-forward natural English to any form of affected speech, and should better like the wisdom of this book of proverbial philosophy in the usual dialect of good writers, we nevertheless accept what is good in the book, in the form in which the author has been pleased to present it, and are thankful. The form might have been worse. There are too many wise and pithy sayings, to be wholly neutralized by the costume in which they are dressed up for the public eye; to many the singularity of the costume will, doubtless, prove a very positive charm. Were space at our command, many good things might be offered to the reader. We were struck with the following, and think it, — the last clause, — worth the cost of the volume. It is from a chapter on "Writing." "To be accurate, write; to remember, write; to know thine own mind, write; *and a written prayer is a prayer of faith; special, sure, and to be answered.*"

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An Address, delivered before the Harvard Musical Association, at the Annual Meeting, on Commencement Day, August 26, 1840. By HENRY R. CLEVELAND. Boston. 1840.

THOSE, who were fortunate enough to hear the Address of Mr. Cleveland, will be gratified to be able to read, at their leisure, what in the hearing was itself, owing in part to the expressive tones of the speaker, and in part to the flow of the style, so like a strain of music. Great good we think will result from an annual discourse on this delightful and necessary art; we only wish that an hour and day could be selected when a larger audience could be brought together. It was a subject of reasonable regret, that a discourse like this of Mr. Cleveland, so well calculated to create or revive an interest in the subject of which he spoke, and throw a new charm around it, should be heard by so few. We hope that some better arrangement may be made against the return of the occasion; if, indeed, the crowded hours of commencement day or week should allow of any better.

The discourse, — upon the duty of amateurs to the science and art of Music, — was delivered before the Harvard Musical Association, a society which has grown out of the Pierian Sodality, so called, the design of which is the general advancement of music in our community. They propose to effect their object by stated meetings of the members of the association, for the purposes of conversation and business, by the institution of a library of music, by the delivery of an annual discourse, and mainly by the establishment of a professorship in the college. This last is that to which the society looks as the great instrument for accomplishing its object. The effect upon the community of a man of genius and genuine enthusiasm, a man not only of good general scholarship, — which, however, we regard as an essential, — but profoundly acquainted with the science of music, nor that only, but a practical musician also, a master at least of the piano-forte or organ, — a man of fine taste, sound learning, and a correct ear, — the effect of such an one, through his conversation, his public lectures, his criticisms of the prevailing tastes, his time and labor constantly devoted to this one object, would be, it is believed, immediate, extensive, and most salutary. It would be felt at once in our private circles, in the metropolis, in the rural districts, in the character of our public concerts, and more than all in the music of our churches. No other single measure is to be compared with this, in our judgment, for any prospect it may hold out of accomplishing the object proposed to themselves by the Harvard Musical Associa-

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tion; and to this, it seems to us, their most strenuous efforts should be bent. We desire to strengthen our own opinion with the authority of Mr. Cleveland, by offering to the reader the following paragraphs from the Address; not more, however, for the sake of the expression of his opinion on this point, than for the touching commemoration contained in the passage of one whom many recollect.

"In this age of lectures, it has occurred to me that a course upon the history and progress of music would be one of the most delightful that could be offered to the public. How much of refined enjoyment, how many resources for life, what pure and dignified occupation for hours that might otherwise be spent in idleness or mischief, would be provided by the establishment of a professorship of music in this University. We will suppose the incumbent of this chair to be a man of refined education, of a high order of musical genius, and at the same time an accomplished performer; for these are not incompatible. We will suppose that the cause of music in this college, and, consequently, the cause of music through half our country at least, is confided to his care; and that he is sensible of the trust and anxious to fulfil his duties. He would advance with gradual progress. At first, perhaps, he would make no other appeal to the taste than by the delicate and heart-stirring strains of his Sunday's hymns and symphonies on that most perfect of instruments, the organ of the college chapel. There are those here present, I doubt not, who will remember with me the time when the tones of that delightful organ were first heard within those walls, and the gifted Cooper was called to preside over the music of the University. To my memory it seems like the golden age of the art in college. The taste and genius of one man appeared to kindle a fire in every heart, — the Pierian Sodality soon flourished in its palmiest state; and the University choir led by one whose silver voice, excelling in richness, compass, and native grace, had in its tones a peculiar magic, performed the devotional services in the chapel in a style, which, even allowing for the enthusiasm and inexperience of early youth, was deserving of high praise, and would compare well with the music of more pretending choirs. Peace to the memory of Brigham! the thrilling voice of the singer is hushed;

> "For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
> Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer:
> Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
> Himself to sing:" ——

"Peace to his memory! the graceful scholar! the eloquent speaker! the warm-hearted, all-loving, all-beloved friend! His life has passed away like a morning hymn; but memory enshrines his music; and many a skilful finger, and many a melodious voice are the living monuments of his tasteful influence.

"Such are the influences which the gifted professor of music would here exert; the good effects of his instruction would soon be apparent in the higher standard of musical performances, and in the development of native genius. With the aid of such a band of performers as he

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would soon educate to his purposes, our professor would be able to give a course of lectures of exceeding curiosity and interest. He would begin with the history of music; he would gather up from the hymns and chants of the early church, the wrecks of classical music, constantly, by the aid of the performers whom he had trained, giving specimens of the style of those ancient compositions; he would trace its development through the hands of Ambrose and Gregory till the genius of Palestrina fashioned it to the regular form of art. He would search into the origin of the Oratorio and the Opera, with examples by his choir of the crude recitative, or the simple melodies of these early efforts, till coming down to a later time he would find an ample field for his taste and eloquence, and for the skill of his assistant performers in the varied and copious productions of modern composers; and in the leading characteristics of the music of different nations. I will not attempt to follow out in the detail all that might be done for the cause of music in this country by the efforts of such a man. But I would suggest it as one of the most proper objects of attention to this society to bring about the establishment of such a professorship in our University." — pp. 7 – 9.

Poem spoken at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, August 27, 1840. By Francis C. Gray. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. pp. 36. 1840.

It was a matter of very especial wonder on the last Phi Beta day, how the poet on that occasion, in the short space of two or three days, which was all the time allowed him, after it was understood that Mr. Ingersoll, the regular poet of the day, must fail through sickness, should have been able to produce a poem of so much literary and poetic excellence, and of such length as to occupy an hour in the delivery. Supposing it to have been previously written, in whole or in part, or to have required only remodeling and re-touching, still it was no small achievement to have done that, and then to have lodged it so perfectly in the memory, as to recite it without one misrecollection, or so much as a moment's hesitancy. Yet all this, and much more, was accomplished by Mr. Gray. The only regret was that, while the manner of the poet in his declamation was remarkably free, graceful, and emphatic, the voice loud and clear, there was some secret defect in the elocution, which made it difficult for any, save those who were fortunately in a front seat, and near the speaker, to hear with ease or distinctness. The fault, it seemed to us, was laying a disproportionate stress of voice upon accented syllables and emphatic words, while the intervening ones, quite as important to the sense, were passed over in so low a tone as to be inaudible. This gave the general effect of anima-

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tion and boldness to the delivery, but it was at the expense of a clear and ready comprehension on the part of the audience. We now see, too, upon reading the Poem, that the hearer had the advantage, not always yielded by the poet on these occasions, of a definite subject, and a methodical treatment, such as would have chained the attention of the house throughout, but for the hindrance alluded to. We accordingly welcome the poem from the press, that they who heard may renew their pleasure by reading what they heard, and they who were then less fortunate may now more than make up for their loss. We have already, in our first article in this department, offered to the reader Mr. Gray's tribute to the memory of Dr. Kirkland; we can add nothing better or more appropriate than its companion, the portrait of Bowditch.

"Nor less she earlier mourned, when Bowditch gave
His soul to heaven, his body to the grave.
We wept not then, as when compelled to shed
Untimely tears o'er some Marcellus dead,
Preëminent in talents and in fame,
Only to be an earlier, surer aim
For death — a greener garland for the tomb;—
Wept not as erst o'er manhood's early doom,
When Buckminster, our ornament and pride,
Ardent McKean, accomplished Thacher died,
When fate the bright career of Ashmun crossed,
And Frisbie's fervid eloquence was lost.
Then might you weep, beholding beams so bright
Eclipsed at noon, and midday turned to night;
But not for him, who closed with placid ray,
The tranquil evening of a well-spent day,
And all life's honors earned, its duties done,
Sank in full radiance, like a cloudless sun.

"We wept not him, who, even from boyhood's prime,
Felt the inestimable worth of time,
Who threw no opportunity away,
Nor ever once, like Titus, lost a day.
He never failed to find, whate'er befell,
Time to do all things, and to do them well;
Was but a scheme for public good displayed,
His the best counsel, most efficient aid;
And mid the busy world's cares, toil, and strife,
His leisure bore the harvest of a life,
A work, that on his name sheds long renown,
And adds a jewel to his country's crown.

"From earliest youth, upon himself alone
Depending, none he feared, he flattered none,
But showed, throughout his life's consistent plan,
The self-reliance, that makes man a man;

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Fearlessly followed what he thought was right,
And did whate'er he did, — with all his might.

"To latest age, he kept the stainless truth,
The modesty, the playfulness of youth;
With rock-like firmness, joined to liveliest zeal,
Calm to resolve, but oh, how quick to feel,
Too frank to feign, too shrewd to be beguiled,
'In wit a man, simplicity a child,'
Free from suspicion, selfishness, or art,
He spoke, and acted only from the heart.

"His was the life, the real sage to bless,
A life of high exertion, and success.
His was the death, the sage's life to crown,
Calm, grateful, full of trust, he laid him down;
Mid those he best loved, and who loved him best,
And happy in their love, he sank to rest,
While even their grief was mixed with joy and pride,
To think he thus had lived, and thus had died.

"No, not for thee did friendship ask a tear,
Not for thy sake do I now name thee here;
But for their good, whom thou hast left behind,
But for ourselves, our country, and mankind,
But for these youth, who rise to take our place,
Just starting eagerly on manhood's race,
That they with kindred energy may strive,
That thy example in their lives may live,
And cheering others in the generous strife,
Thy memory bless thy country, like thy life.

"And pardon, should another motive lend
Its aid, and with the man unite the friend;
Nor blame, that one, who on a foreign shore,
Was doomed to hear, that we should meet no more,
Who could not have the privilege to stand
By thy sick couch, and press thy fainting hand,
To hear the wisdom of thy parting breath,
And see the simple triumph of thy death,
To whom another's tongue was charged to tell
Thy last kind words, thy fatherly farewell,
Should seize this hour the earliest fortune gave,
To pay the tribute truth and feeling crave,
And here at length the grateful task assume
To hang one humble wreath upon thy tomb.

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Two Years Before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. 12mo. pp. 483.

We have risen from the perusal of this volume with as strong a feeling of moral approbation for the writer and his object, as we ever did from any within our remembrance. It is a book not only intensely interesting as a narrative, from the first to the last page and word, but of the highest value, considered in relation to some of our most important public interests. It is a volume full of instruction for sailor, ship-master, and merchant; for the merchant, full not only of instruction, but, as we think, of just and solemn rebuke. The merchant must be held responsible in the main for the character and condition and treatment of sailors, as a class. Not that all the evils, *now* to be charged upon their condition, are to be laid at his door as proofs of moral delinquency on his part, any more than the present existence and evils of slavery are to be laid at the door of the slaveholder, as though all the guilt were his. For custom has blinded generations to their duty here, as in a thousand other directions, and the merchant of to-day has adopted the usages which have descended to him, as if they were laws of nature, and never to be changed. But in the midst of the light which an active spirit of philanthropy and the religion of Christianity are throwing upon time-honored errors and abuses, the merchant as well as the slaveholder is morally inexcusable, if he do not turn his attention to the evils, of which, as soon as his attention *is* turned to them, he perceives at a glance he is the cause, directly or indirectly, — at any rate has power, and he alone has power, by gradual or sudden changes, ultimately or immediately to remove. We see no reason why a sailor should not be dealt with, in the same spirit of humanity, to be without which, in the treatment of any other class, stamps a man as infamous. Yet, as Mr. Dana shows, he is in a manner thrust out of the pale of at least a kind and Christian sympathy. If he is cared for at all, it is as we care for the miserable hacks we hire to get in our harvests, or drag us to our journey's end. Dog's food is thrown to him, just such as may serve to keep the life in him, and a foul Calcutta hole provided to serve as a shelter from heat, cold, and wet. But, as for a humane provision against times of great exposure, or sickness, or a reasonably comfortable one in the usual circumstances of a voyage, there is no approach toward it. A principle of the narrowest covetousness seems to dictate what has hitherto been done in the structure of the forecastle, and in laying in the stores for a voyage, both as to quantity and quality. The ship, in which Mr.

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Dana returned, is spoken of as being unusually well provided. What must be the condition of a crew, where it is worse! Listen to Mr. Dana. The ship is in the stormy latitudes of Cape Horn.

"Yet it was a dreadful night for those on deck. A watch of eighteen hours, with wet and cold and constant anxiety, nearly wore them out; and when they came below at nine o'clock for breakfast, they almost dropped asleep on their chests, and some of them were so stiff they could with difficulty sit down. *Not a drop of anything had been given them during the whole time, (though the captain, as on the night I was on deck, had his coffee every four hours,) except that the mate stole a pot-full of coffee for two men to drink behind the galley, while he kept a look-out for the captain.*" — p. 390.

"It was a tedious and anxious night. It blew hard the whole time, and there was an almost constant driving of either rain, hail, or snow. In addition to this it was 'as thick as mud,' and the ice was all about us. *The captain was on deck nearly the whole night, and kept the cook in the galley with a roaring fire to make coffee for him, which he took every few hours and once or twice gave a little to his officers; but not a drop of anything was there for the crew.* The captain, who sleeps all the daytime, and comes and goes at night as he chooses, can have his brandy and water in the cabin, and his hot coffee at the galley; while Jack, who has to stand through everything, and work in wet and cold, can have nothing to wet his lips, or warm his stomach. This was a 'temperance ship,' and like too many such ships, the temperance was all in the forecastle." — p. 385.

Exposure like this is in the very nature of the service. But neglect like this is not in its nature, and ought not to be *possible*, as it need not be. The least touch of humanity, any the least action of Christian principle, were his attention once turned to the subject, would impel the merchant, we are sure, to stand by these men, and beyond any possible deprivation insure them the cheap reliefs which they require, but do not even ask for, under perils and toils like those described by Mr. Dana. We say "do not ask for." We know nothing more touching than the patience with which this crew, for nearly a month, encountered cold and tempests, fields and islands of ice, snow, sleet, and wind, while doubling Cape Horn, deprived during all that time of all they wanted, but, we repeat, did not ask for, a *little hot tea* or coffee on the night watch;* and the generosity with

* And what is this costly beverage, of which sailors are deprived on board *temperance* ships. "The proportions of the ingredients of the tea that was made for us, (water bewitched, or tea begrudged, as they called it,) and ours was a favorable specimen of American merchantmen, were a pint of tea and a pint and a half of molasses, to about three gallons of water. These are all boiled down together in the 'coppers,' and before serving it out, the mess is stirred up with a stick, so as to give

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which these, and other more crying injuries, were forgotten, when they were once more in warmer latitudes, and in sight of home. Of the more crying injuries, of the cruelty and injustice and wanton tyrannies of their savage and brutal captain, we cannot now speak. And it is, perhaps, needless; for the book speaks of them in the way it ought, and the book, we trust, and we believe, will before long be read by every ship-master and sailor in our service, as well as by every merchant on shore.

Mr. Dana's design in publishing this volume has been, to use his own words, "to present the life of a common sailor at sea as it really is, — the light and the dark together;" with the further design, by the pictures he presents of the condition, character, and treatment of the sailor, to excite in his behalf a rational interest in the minds of our community at large. He cannot but meet with success. It is a volume, which, while as a picture of a common sailor's life it is painted with a Daguerrotype minuteness, it is at the same time, and for that reason, more absorbing in its interest than any work of fiction we are acquainted with, relating to similar scenes. Everything is told. When we closed the volume, we seemed as much at home on board the Pilgrim and Alert, as if we had ourselves taken the voyage. The crew are to us familiar faces. Harris and "Chip" the carpenter are acquaintances. California, with its ports, lies in the mind clear as our own South Shore. We know the whole process of curing, shipping, and packing hides, and think we could go through it without a blunder. So with the daily routine of life at sea, that of a family seems not now more familiar. All this is told in a style of captivating simplicity, with not a single example, from beginning to end, of writing for effect. It is injured neither by art, nor affectation; but runs on in an easy, natural flow, bearing along the reader to the last page without his having once thought of style, whether the author has any or not. The volume owes its charms very much to this Robinson-Crusoe simplicity. It is like the "yarn" of an agreeable story teller. What with this, and the stirring nature of the events described, we think Mr. Dana will fail in one purpose he seems to have cherished, that of diminishing the attractiveness of a sailor's life by telling the naked homely truth. He has told his story too well. He has made the witchery of the sea more a witchery than ever, and this notwithstanding Capt. T., Cape Horn, and the hides.

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each man his fair share of sweetening and tea leaves." When we consider what the quality of the tea purchased for sailors would be, — poor souchong, or even bohea, — it is easy to conjecture the flavor and strength of a wash made of a pint of it to three gallons of water.

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We think Mr. Dana will find that he has succeeded not only in producing a picture of sea-life, which will be acknowledged as true to nature and fact, but as much also in the other part of his design, that of exciting a new and deeper interest in the community in behalf of the sailor. Every reader of his book will be made both to love and pity the common sailor; his virtues, his vices, his exposures, his neglects, his wrongs, are so described, as to enlist on his side the compassions, and the active efforts of those whose sympathies are capable of being roused at all. Nothing can be plainer, than that he in many ways suffers needlessly. A little more liberality on the part of owners would provide him with those comforts, cheap and few, for the want of which we must think life is often sacrificed; and a little more attention on the part both of owners and society in general to his moral and religious interests, would soon raise him to an equality at least with his fellow-men. We can see no reason, in the nature either of his duties or his peculiar condition, why the sailor should be a sinner beyond all other sinners. But, on the contrary, there seem to be many advantages in his position, — especially when bound on long voyages in calm latitudes, — for making large attainments in knowledge, human and divine. It is a pity, indeed, when so much time hangs heavy on his hands, if no other occupation can be found than picking oakum, or "holystoning" the deck. A captain or a mate might be a teacher and a preacher to great purpose. From what Mr. Dana tells us, he would be sure of willing hearers and learners.

In the concluding chapter of the volume, Mr. Dana "offers his views of what may be done for seamen, and what is already doing," a chapter remarkable for its spirit of moderation, for a calm and candid consideration of questions, on which the reader would have held him excused, if he had manifested some little excitement. He has shown more self-command than we fear many of his readers will, in the judgments they will form, and the language they will use. Throughout the volume, indeed, nothing is more striking, when speaking of hardships and abuses, than its freedom from exaggeration, and unreasonable complaint. The tone is more frequently one of extenuation and apology.

No work of the day is destined, we think, to a wider circulation than this, or to effect more for the best interests of that interesting class, toward whom the author has called forth the warmest sympathies of his readers.

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Lives of Eminent Unitarians; with a Notice of Dissenting Academies. By the Rev. J. W. TURNER, Jun., M. A. London. 1840. 12mo. pp. 417.

A BOOK, which, from what we have read of it, well deserves a reprint in this country. It would serve to bring Unitarians of the present day into better acquaintance with their ancestors, a set of men well worth knowing. It contains twenty lives, from Biddle, born in 1615, to Micajah Towgood, born in 1700. A volume on a similar plan, made up of lives of American Unitarian worthies, is a good work for some one to undertake. The lives of Buckminster, Thacher, and Abbot, are already written, and as a part of any such volume ought to be accessible to all.

Strive and Thrive. By MARY HOWITT. Boston: James Munroe & Co. *Hope On, Hope Ever; or the Boyhood of Felix Law.* By MARY HOWITT, author of "Strive and Thrive." Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1840.

THESE little books rank with Miss Edgeworth's, and Miss Sedgwick's "Home." No child can read them without improvement. The first we think the better of the two. The early history, indeed, of Felix, and especially of his father, Andrew Law, is every way admirable — simple, affecting, beautiful; but on Felix getting to London, and the introduction of Mrs. Waldegrave upon the scene, the little story of real life suddenly shoots up into a romance.

Essay on the Character and Influence of Washington in the Revolution of the United States of America. By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1840.

WE are too late in our notice of this essay to offer any criticism upon it. Its merits are now generally understood. We will only say that it seems to us to constitute an admirable "first class book" for our higher schools, and for the careful study of the young in commencing or pursuing a course of American history.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JANUARY, 1841.

ART. I. — *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. By* A MEMBER OF THE HOUSES OF SHIRLEY AND HASTINGS. Third Thousand. London: 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 488 and 554.

THE rise of Methodism was one of the most natural events in the world, as natural as the rising of the sun, as light after darkness, spring after winter, calm after storm, life after death; as natural as the Reformation of the sixteenth century; as the English, the French, or American Revolution. When corruption and abuse in civil or religious administration have risen to a certain height, then in due time come resistance and reform. Human nature, in even its most degraded state, will bear only to a certain point; it then rises and seeks redress, proclaims its wants, and strives for their satisfaction. No want is deeper; not that of civil liberty, not that of a pure and primitive doctrine, than that of the soul for reality in its religion; for a religion that shall be not only a round of forms, not only a cold and dry proclamation of truisms, not only a creed and a service, but a real principle of faith, hope, and love, which shall dwell in the heart, lift it above the world, and place it in intimate communion with the Father, after whom it yearns, and for whose salvation all its instincts cry aloud; that shall satisfy and fill the desires, resolve the doubts, answer the questions, of the existence of which every soul is conscious. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century, no such religion was to be found within the pale of the English Church. It was among the Dissenters; but it was not in the Church. Yet there were in the Church men, as well as churchmen; those who, beside her doctrine and

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her ritual, both which they honored and loved, wanted something more. They felt, at least, that if the truth was in the Church, it was buried beneath the many folds of form; it was not an accessible, living, saving truth; it was cold, distant, inaccessible, or dead. If not dead, it must be received and exhibited in a quite different manner, or the souls of men must pine and die. The Church, without a real and earnest religion, was not enough. Methodism grew naturally out of this feeling of dissatisfaction with the religion of the Church. Those who before had become dissatisfied with her hierarchy, and her service, had long ago withdrawn, and composed the great body of Dissenters. Those, who could not allow her theology to be pure and primitive, had also left her ranks, and constituted that small minority of the Dissenters, who held to the strict unity of God. But, though these malcontents had taken their departure, others remained, who, while they believed her doctrine, and acknowledged the authority of her clergy, and loved her services, loved religion more. The Wesleys, John and Charles, with Whitefield, were of this number, and were the first to come out and give utterance to a feeling, which, as soon as their voices were once raised, was responded to throughout the kingdom and the Church. They found religion for themselves, and as soon as they found it, they began to exhibit and proclaim it to the world, that others might share their joy. And their peculiarity, as reformers, lay in no novelty of doctrine, or organization. They forsook, in the outset, neither the doctrine nor the order of the Church. They did not dream of founding a new sect. They simply believed with the heart, and what they believed with the heart, they preached as if they so believed. This was original Methodism; it was not Calvinism, nor Arminianism, nor Church-of-Englandism. It had nothing to do with doctrine. "The only Methodism I desire to know," said Whitefield, "is a holy method of dying to ourselves, and of living to God." It was religion of the heart, living faith, the faith of a soul that realized its own nature, destiny, duty, and danger, and was earnest that other souls should do the same; a faith, that uttered its convictions not in the smooth and well turned periods of an academic discourse, but in those burning words, however homely or rude, which with most power could reveal the soul to itself, and rouse it to lay hold on the hope set before it. Afterwards, Methodism took the forms of a peculiar institution; but those forms entered not into the

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thought of its original founders, when they first began their great work of spiritual reformation. They were the fruit of accident and circumstance.

Such is the reform, which every church and sect needs from time to time to break forth in the midst of it. Age and power grow dull and secure. A church, that has passed through the exciting days of its origin, when it had its enemies, persecution, and trials, is apt to fall asleep. Order, decency, and a regular routine of services, usurp the place of a living piety. The Church is a body without a soul. What it then needs for its regeneration is a Methodism, a spirit of earnestness and living piety to spring up and kindle its own warmth in the general heart. It is not doctrine that any Christian sect wants for its regeneration; much less, new views or new philosophies; but new methods of action and devotion, a new heart, new warmth, new zeal, life for death. Every sect has truth enough of doctrine to save it; for there is no sect of Christians, that receives not Christ the Son of God, believes not in God the Father and Judge, in the future life, in the retributions of an eternal world; and these believed with the heart, and preached with the heart, would be competent to all the victories that were ever achieved by Whitefield or Wesley. It should be the prayer of every sect, that a Methodism, in its proper and original signification, a spirit of living piety and faith, may flame up and spread through its members.

The volumes before us are a history of one branch of Methodism, as Southey's Life of Wesley is of another. Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon are the heads of Calvinistic Methodism, as are the Wesleys of Arminian. "The Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon" is a history, minute and full as the most curious could desire, of the origin and growth, the successes and reverses, of Calvinistic Methodism. It records the incidents in the private and public life of the Countess, the principal events in the career of Mr. Whitefield, and biographical sketches of all the more considerable preachers, who either adopted Calvinistic views, or belonged to Lady Huntingdon's connexion, or issued from her schools. The volumes, though presenting an immense mass of fact, are yet interesting in a high degree. We can offer but a very meagre account of their contents, in any space our pages will afford; but we will do what we can; not doubting that it will be for the advantage and pleasure of our readers. The materials of the present volumes,

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we will here add, have been collected by a member of the family of Lady Huntingdon; arranged for publication by a person, to whom he committed them for that purpose, but whose name we do not learn, while valuable introductions to each volume have been furnished, by still another hand, a late President of Lady Huntingdon's College, at Cheshunt, the Rev. J. K. Foster.

Of Lady Huntingdon's noble ancestry, a long and tedious catalogue is drawn up, of which only one article attracted our attention, and excited a little interest, which was the circumstance, that Lady Huntingdon's grandmother on her father's side, was "daughter and heiress to Lawrence Washington, Esq., of Caresden, in Wiltshire." Very little is told us of the early days of this remarkable woman; but enough to show, that her whole life, from its earliest dawn to latest decline, was earnestly and consistently religious. Her biographer, indeed, does not allow her to have been *savingly* religious till the period of her conversion, which did not occur until after she had listened to the preaching of Whitefield and his associates, though he takes pleasure in saying that her earliest impressions were of a serious cast, and her habits those of a religious and devout person.

"Lady Selina's mind," he says, "even in her early infancy, was of a serious cast. When she was only nine years of age, the sight of a corpse about her own age, on its way to the grave, induced her to attend the burial. There the first impression of deep seriousness concerning an eternal world took possession of her heart, and with many tears she earnestly implored God on the spot, that whenever he should be pleased to take her away, he would deliver her from all her fears, and give her a happy departure. She often afterward visited that grave, and always preserved a lively sense of the affecting scene she had there witnessed." — "Though no correct views of evangelical truth had hitherto enlightened her ladyship's mind, yet even in her juvenile days, she frequently retired, for prayer, to a particular closet, where she could not be observed, and in all her little troubles found relief in pouring out the feelings of her heart to God. When she grew up and was introduced into the world, she continued to pray that she might marry into a serious family. None kept up more of the ancient dignity and propriety than the house of Huntingdon; the family possessed a sort of decorum, which she, perhaps, mistook for religion. With the head of that family she accordingly became united, on the 3d of June, 1728."

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This marriage appears to have been an eminently happy one.

"His Lordship well knew how to value the treasure which Providence had given him, in a woman of such exalted merit and amiable qualities, and accordingly made it his study to repay the felicity with which she crowned his life. He considered himself possessed of the greatest possible addition to his earthly happiness, and from the period of his marriage was uniformly an attentive and affectionate husband, which character he maintained with a becoming mixture of dignity and affection, till the day of his death."

The conversion of Lady Huntingdon seems to have been a conversion merely from eminent piety and goodness, to eminent piety and goodness. Taking the biographer's own account, it would be difficult to imagine a holier, a more pious woman, than Lady Huntingdon was before her conversion. Every moral virtue, every religious habit, every Christian grace, was hers from her youth up. The change, therefore, when it came, was but a change in the theory of her religious feelings. She formerly thought much of the beauty and excellence of virtue and religion, of the happiness of being a child of God, a disciple of Christ, and an heir of immortality. After having heard the Methodists, — Whitefield especially, — she suddenly conceived the idea that her own goodness was a mere chimera of the imagination, and that it was through the righteousness of Christ imputed to her, by which alone she could be saved. The conversion seems to have had no relation to the moral and spiritual, but only to the speculative and intellectual; to have been but a change of the theory, by which she explained to her own mind the manner, in which the same moral and religious character became effectual to her acceptance with God.

The following is the account given by her biographer of this event in her religious history.

"A dangerous illness having soon after brought her to the brink of the grave, the fear of death fell terribly upon her, and her conscience was greatly distressed. She now perceived that she had beguiled herself with prospects of a visionary nature, was entirely blinded to her own real character, had long placed her happiness in mere chimeras, and grounded her vain hopes upon imaginary foundations. It was to no purpose she reminded herself of the morality of her conduct; in vain did she recollect the many encomiums that had been passed upon her early

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piety and virtue. Her best righteousness now appeared to be but filthy rags, which, so far from justifying her before God, increased her condemnation. The remorse, which before attended conscience, on account of sin, respected only the outward actions of her life; but now she saw her 'heart was deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;' that 'all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;' and 'that the thoughts of men's hearts are only evil, and that continually.' When upon the point of perishing in her own apprehension, the words of Lady Margaret, (a sister of her husband,) returned strongly to her recollection, and she felt an earnest desire, renouncing every other hope, to cast herself wholly upon Christ for life and salvation. From her bed she lifted up her heart to her Saviour with this importunate prayer, and immediately all her fears and distress were removed, and she was filled with peace and joy in believing.

"Now the day began to dawn. Jesus the Sun of Righteousness arose, and burst in meridian splendor on her benighted soul. The scales fell from her eyes, and opened a passage for the light of life, which sprang in, and death and darkness fled before it. Viewing herself as a brand plucked from the burning, she could not but stand astonished at the mighty power of that grace which saved her from eternal destruction, just when she stood upon its very brink, and raised her from the gates of hell to the confines of heaven." — Vol. I. pp. 14, 15.

We leave this account of Lady Huntingdon's conversion, which opens a wide field for observation, with the single reflection, how untrue to nature and therefore destined soon to perish, as well as opposed to the temper and doctrines of Jesus, is the creed that constrains a person possessed of the virtue and piety ascribed to Lady Huntingdon before her conversion, to regard herself afterward as a brand plucked from the burning, as saved from eternal destruction, as raised from the gates of hell. What is hell, if filled with beings possessed of the virtue and piety of Lady Huntingdon? as it must be, if they are there, who, clothed with her virtues and piety, have yet failed of a Calvinistic conversion. But faith such as this we suppose to have nearly passed away.

From this time to the day of her death, Lady Huntingdon was in immediate connexion with the Methodists, and, as soon as the separation took place, the acknowledged head of the Calvinistic branch. It may be supposed that the defection, from the ranks of fashion to those of religion, of a person of the

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station in high life held by Lady Huntingdon, made no small sensation. Had her husband been either of the worldly or exclusive temper of many of those, who advised him to interpose his authority to withdraw her from her new friends, he had it in his power to have greatly embittered her life, though he might not have succeeded, as it is easy to see from the strength and decision of her character no human being could have done, in accomplishing his principal object. Happily for her he was a good, just, and generous man; and although he could not enter into all the counsels of his wife, yet he respected her and her faith, and treated with perfect courtesy the leaders of the new religion, who became frequent visitors at his house. The utmost he could be persuaded, or himself thought it right or kind to do, was to request that Lady Huntingdon would converse with Bishop Benson; a request, to which she promptly gave her assent. The interview is thus described.

"The Bishop was accordingly sent for, and he attempted to convince her Ladyship of the unnecessary strictness of her sentiments and conduct. But she pressed him so hard with Scripture; brought so many arguments from the articles and homilies, and so plainly and faithfully urged upon him the awful responsibility of his station under the great head of the Church, that his temper was ruffled, and he rose up in haste to depart, bitterly lamenting that he had ever laid his hands upon George Whitefield, to whom he attributed the change wrought in her Ladyship. 'My Lord,' said the Countess, 'mark my words; when you are on your dying bed, that will be one of the few ordinations you will reflect on with complacence.' The bishop's conduct at that solemn season verified her prediction; for when near his death, he sent ten guineas to Mr. Whitefield, as a token of his regard and veneration, and begged to be remembered by him in his prayers." *

* This was honorable to the bishop. Two other "instances of episcopal candor" are added by the author, of the same wholesome character. "The venerable Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, being in the habit of preaching frequently, had observed a poor man remarkably attentive, and made him some little present. After a while he missed his humble auditor, and meeting him, said, 'John, how is it that I do not see you in the aisle, as usual?' John, with some hesitation, replied, 'My Lord, I hope you will not be offended, and I will tell you the truth. I went the other day to hear the Methodists, and I understand their plain words so much better, that I have attended them ever since.' The bishop put his hand in his pocket, and gave him a guinea, with words to

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Lady Huntingdon now became a regular attendant on the preaching of the Methodists, and was brought into a close acquaintance with their principal preachers, and joined the society in Fetter Lane, where, with her husband, she was a constant attendant on public worship. It was her practice, also, both in town and in the country, to have preaching on week days at her own house by her domestic chaplain, which office, during one period, was filled by Whitefield, when, through her high connexions, she drew together a large number of the nobility. It was in her drawing-rooms, that Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Chesterfield, the Duchess of Marlborough, and others of the same circle, first heard Whitefield. Upon these most unpromising subjects, this really great man seems to have made a deep impression. "The Earl of Chesterfield, and a whole circle of nobility," says the author, "attended, and having heard once, desired they might hear him again." "My hands," says Whitefield, on this occasion, "have been full of work, and I have been among great company. A privy counsellor of the King of Denmark and others, with one of the Prince of Wales's favorites, dined and drank tea with me on Monday. On Tuesday, I preached twice at Lady H.'s, to several of the nobility. In the morning, the Earl of Chesterfield was present; in the evening, the Lord Bolingbroke. All behaved quite well, and were in some degree affected. Lord Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you, what I shall tell others, how I approve of you;' or words to this purpose. He conversed with me freely afterwards. Lord Bolingbroke was much moved, and desired I would come and see him the next morning. I did; and his Lordship behaved with great frankness." Whitefield has been

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this effect; 'God bless you, and go where you can receive the greatest profit to your soul.'" — "Archbishop Secker, when laid on his couch with a broken thigh, was visited at Lambeth by Mr. Talbot, vicar of St. Giles's, Reading, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and received his preferment from him. 'You will pray with me, Talbot?' said the archbishop, during the interview. Mr. Talbot rose, and went to look for a prayer book. 'That is not what I want now,' said the dying prelate; 'kneel down by me, and pray for me in the way I know you are used to do.' With which command the zealous man readily complied, and prayed earnestly from his heart for his dying friend, whom he saw no more." More candor like this would have preserved Methodism to the Church, to its infinite advantage; but narrow-minded, worldly, and bigoted men, drove her out to seek a home elsewhere, and no so true a friend and ally has the Church found since.

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accused of courting the "Great;" and of betraying undue elation on the intimacies which by circumstances, he was led to form with some of them, and on the honor conferred upon him of preaching to them. It was a very pardonable weakness if he did, for it was no small triumph to be constantly resorted to by such men as Chesterfield and Bolingbroke. Judged by our standard, and it is true the language of some of his letters would be called cringing, and quite unbecoming a man, much more a minister of Jesus Christ; but then, judged by an English standard, and it can hardly be construed to have carried more meaning with it than many of the epistolary forms still in use among ourselves; they appear to have been very much words of course, mere conventionalisms. But if he was sometimes too complimentary, he knew how on proper occasions to speak plainly and boldly, as in a letter to the Marquis of Lothian who had sought his friendship. "You do well, my Lord," he said, "to fear lest your convictions should wear off. Your Lordship is in a dangerous situation in the world. Come, then, and lay yourself at the feet of Jesus. As for praying in your family, I entreat you, my Lord, not to neglect it. You are bound to do it. Apply to Christ for strength to overcome your present fears. They are the effects of pride, or infidelity, or both."

Not even the great founders of Methodism were more quick to discern what the instruments were which religion and the times needed, and to turn accidents to advantage, than Lady Huntingdon; who, though in the event her influence and that of her party greatly declined, was in the beginning of the greatest service to the new cause. Lay preaching which has proved of so great advantage to Methodism, especially in the first years of its existence when there was no other source whence to draw their ministers but the Church of England, was at first resisted both by Wesley and Whitefield. Bowers, the first who without episcopal ordination dared to lift up his voice as a preacher, was sharply reproved by Wesley, and brought to confess his error. But Lady Huntingdon, with a more penetrating mind, saw in lay preaching an agency of great power, and especially needful to a rising sect, which if it was to grow and spread it must be among the *people*, who for their conversion needed not refinement, or elegant scholarship, but a plain and heartfelt announcement of the vital truths of the gospel; and for this, who more fit, than clear-headed and warm-

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hearted men of their own body? Accordingly, when she afterward heard a Mr. Maxfield pray in the Fetter Lane chapel, to which office he had been appointed by Mr. Wesley, she urged him to expound the Scriptures also. This soon passed into preaching, and he became the first itinerant lay preacher. Wesley, however, could not brook the irregularity, and was desired by those who were of the same mind with himself, to hasten to London and check the growth of the evil in the bud. His mother, like Lady Huntingdon a woman of "deep piety, strong sense, and sound judgment," by a calm remonstrance first restrained him in his course, and eventually brought him to her own way of thinking.

"She had heard Mr. Maxfield preach, and was fully persuaded he was called of God to the work of the ministry. Perceiving marks of displeasure in the countenance of her son on his arrival, she inquired the cause. He warmly replied, 'Thomas Maxfield has turned preacher, I find.' Mrs. Wesley looked at him seriously, and said, 'John, you know what my sentiments have been; you cannot suspect me of favoring readily anything of this kind; but take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself.' He heard Mr. Maxfield preach, and expressed at once his satisfaction and his sanction, by saying, 'It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth to him good.' He saw that it was impossible to prevent his followers from preaching, and with admirable readiness resolved to lead the stream, which it was beyond his power to turn." — Vol. I. p. 34.

Mr. Maxfield, after preaching a few years as a layman, received episcopal ordination from the Bishop of Derry. "On receiving Mr. Maxfield, at Mr. Wesley's particular recommendation, the bishop said the following remarkable words; 'Sir, I ordain you to assist that good man, that he may not work himself to death.'"

About this time, 1744, Lady Huntingdon made the friendship and acquaintance of Doddridge, as she had before that of Watts. As a specimen of her epistolary talent, we offer the following letter to Doddridge. Her letters do not recommend her. They are hard and crabbed in their style, often obscure, sometimes unintelligible, abounding in the technical phraseology of her peculiar faith, and as she grew older and felt the care of the churches upon her, a little too apostolic in their tone. Yet do

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they, nevertheless, always impress the reader with a deep sense of her goodness of heart, her upright intentions, and her sincere piety. The letter which follows was in reply to one from Doddridge, and treats principally, says her biographer, on the necessity of preaching free grace.

"*May* 10*th*, 1744.

"Dear Sir: I was most extremely obliged by your very kind letter, and, though I am very glad and thankful to hear from my Christian friends, yet I consider their callings as so many interruptions from what their inclinations are often most disposed to. We want not that friendship which the world has, discovering its degree by the mere outside shows of ceremony, but those hearts who *know* Him that was from the beginning; by this acquaintance, they can trace back the several other influences upon their minds, beside the secret ones of his to them, and will not wonder such things should help them to maintain an esteem of mankind, till a stronger motive supplies its place. No, my worthy friend, never be under any care about anything relating to me; I can never esteem less, and only more, by the further favor the Lord Jesus Christ shall and will still more bestow upon you; and may you abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost! If I understand upon what your satisfaction was founded, in my discourse with Mr. Jones, I think it depended upon my open and free declaration of present salvation, to be free, and through Jesus Christ alone; and yet, for many reasons, your being as open in it as a preacher, may not be so effectual, to your universal service, I mean, as by attending to smaller degrees of good in all. In my last letter to Mr. Whitefield, I think I have said to this effect; it is for this point we must contend, of which we are witnesses, with that tender regard to all degrees or steps leading to it, by which we can alone extricate ourselves from the trifling wrangles of the schools upon words, and better confound the infidel world. It is the only answer to that remark, which, though I have never heard it, is surely strong, namely, that *uncertain ties* must level all religious feelings too much; and they must arise always rather upon the conclusions of men, than the sapient evidence of the divine propositions.

"Here, then, my friend, is what our Lord offers us. It is for such a religion I live, and in which, with his grace, I will die. This manifestation in the soul of Britain will prove as satisfactory as light is to the eye; and, whenever this light appears equally great, there will be a perfect agreement; the degrees may and will cause disputes, as about the several imperfect objects a day-dawn produces; and in this state, the well meaning among the

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Moravians seem, disputing with all who see differently with them. In this case, our Lord's rule seems best, which was not to destroy error with evil, but by the establishment of truth, the rather to let it fall from its own weakness; exhort all the souls back, and the deadly thing will not hurt them, though they drink of it. I most fear their political schemes, and cannot tell how to account for many things upon any other principle, than as prior to the introduction of *their*, as the phrase is, infallible Church; and, when we go beyond the written Word, which will, simply attended to, open with the light by degrees, as we receive its blessed rays; I say, when we go beyond this, where must the great confusion end? In nothing but a traditionary Church, made up of many pious but superstitious minds; which, I hope, Turkey is not without.

"Your sermon I read with much care, as well as attention to your request, that I would sit with pen and paper by me, to mark all I could find amiss in it; but if it will be any satisfaction to you to know it, I can assure you, with all my care I was not able to make one objection, nor even to fear one from any mortal for you. And I must beg you will be so good as to let me have a hundred sent, in order to give away. I hope Mr. Hervey's fears are groundless about the Dedication; it is in all respects the best judged one, both for your character and his, that I think could be penned; you have done right, and my good maxim will support you, 'Do that which is best, and leave the rest to God.' By your confidence in me, you have led me to be thus free with you. I speak from my heart. It may mean well, but do you correct its judgments when you find them wrong. I think I should ever be glad to confess them so, whenever I see them so; and I hope for more excellent ways of godliness and truth; with many wishes to Mrs. Doddridge for her safety, and prayers for you, my friend, I remain, most sincerely and faithfully, Yours,

"S. Huntingdon."

A few other letters to Dr. Doddridge are given, a little more in the ordinary style of letter-writing than this; but still far from attractive. It must have been, we imagine, from her letters, rather than from her manners, or conversation, or the conduct of her life, that Mr. Southey thought himself justified in insinuating a suspicion of insanity. Not that they afford, however, the shadow of a foundation for entertaining any such suspicion. If it was his intention in recording the fact that insanity had been hereditary in some members of her family to cast a doubt upon the perfect soundness of Lady Huntingdon's intellect, we are constrained to declare, that as far as a judgment may be form-

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ed from the picture of her mind and life as presented in these volumes, we share the indignation of their author at the wantonness of the imputation. If a mind and heart bent upon one object, and that the moral and spiritual well-being and final salvation of men be a sign of insanity, Lady Huntingdon was then insane. If to be so absorbed by this one object, as to make it the theme of her letters and conversation, and allow it to mould her character and demeanor in society, to give a permanent coloring to her very thoughts as well as to their expression, to provide an engrossing employment for every hour of her life, and open channels for the distribution of all her wealth even to the impoverishment of herself, be any proof of insanity, then Lady Huntingdon was insane. In the eyes of one who placed religion in form and decency, in adherence to old usages, and the uttering of set phrases, and treading old paths, her life was indeed sufficiently strange, and busy, and eccentric, to seem to be driving on without rudder or compass. But, if the Bible be true, she was the sanest woman in the kingdom; if the soul be what we are always saying it is, then she and Whitefield and Wesley and their followers were the only persons fully in possession of their reason. Not but what we think they may have occasionally been betrayed into an extravagance; not but what they are justly chargeable, at times, with the false and dangerous heat of blind fanaticism; but that an excess here was a virtue, and the clearest sign of a sound judgment, in comparison with the general apathy of the world. Lady Huntingdon, however, needs no defence on this count, even if Southey intended to say what may be inferred from his language. Those who read these memoirs, will acknowledge in her the existence of a clear and penetrating mind, warm and steady affections, and a zeal for religion and the salvation of men, not more than commensurate with the dignity and greatness of the end at which she aimed. They will see in her a faithful and affectionate wife, a fond mother, a wise friend, a liberal benefactor of the poor, judicious as well as prompt in her charities, an adviser of such reach and discrimination that even the leaders of Methodism, men certainly of great intellects, were ever ready to listen to her counsels, and as a manager of the extensive business affairs in which she of choice buried herself during a period of fifty years, challenging not only the approbation but the admiration of all with whom she was concerned.

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Severe affliction now overtook Lady Huntingdon. Two of her sons, thirteen and eleven years of age, died of small pox. The date is not given of this event; and we have the complaint to make of frequent carelessness, in this particular, on the part of the conductors of the work. This adversity was "soon followed," in 1746, by the death of her husband, the Earl of Huntingdon.

"Lady Huntingdon," says her biographer, "was left a widow in the thirty-ninth year of her age, with the entire management of her children and their fortunes, which she carefully attended to, and improved with the greatest fidelity. Her family affairs necessarily occupied her attention during Lady [Lord] Huntingdon's life; but now become her own mistress, by the demise of his Lordship, she resolved to devote herself wholly to the service of Christ, and to the souls redeemed by his blood.

"Few characters have been more erroneously estimated by the world than that of Lady Huntingdon. She was in fact neither the gloomy fanatic, the weak visionary, nor the abstracted devotee, which different parties have delighted to paint her. The circumstance of her having forbidden the publication of her papers, and her retired mode of life, for even her charities were principally distributed through the medium of her chaplains, were the causes that baffled the curiosity of those, who felt desirous of discovering the motives, which could tempt a woman to resign the allurements of fashion, frivolity, and high station, and to devote upwards of *an hundred thousand pounds* during her life for the extension of peculiar religious opinions; and that, too, without any view towards the personal distinction which has been too often a leading inducement with the founders of new sects.

"Instead of giving way to unavailing grief under this afflicting bereavement, or suffering her mind to prey upon itself in seclusion, Lady Huntingdon endeavored to find comfort in affliction by those unremitting exertions for the extension of divine truth, which characterized every part of her life. The first six months of her widowhood were spent at Donnington Park, which she continued to occupy till the young Earl of Huntingdon became of age. The members of the little societies in her neighborhood were perpetually in her thoughts, and her heart was penetrated with the most lively concern for their welfare. Although her endeavors, during this season of affliction, were chiefly exercised for their spiritual benefit, yet was her heart enlarged also toward all the children of God, by whatever name they were distinguished, or wherever the bounds of their habitation were fixed." * * *

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"From this period, Lady Huntingdon's devotion to Christianity was sincere and unreserved. Whatever she had formerly admired and pursued, she now voluntarily laid at the feet of her Lord; and dedicated her time, her studies, her acquisitions, and her substance, to the service of her God, and the furtherance of his cause in the world; desiring at once to present him with her whole being as a living sacrifice, expressive of her entire devotion. She had no interest to serve, no inclination to gratify, nor any connexion to maintain, but such as was necessary to prove the sincerity of her zeal, or the fervor of her love. Wherever she appeared, she breathed the spirit of devotion, and wherever she was familiarly known, the purity, the fervor, the resolution, and the constancy of that devotion were universally apparent. * * * Wherever she was called, in the providence of God, she was acknowledged as 'a burning and shining light.' The common lights of Christianity were eclipsed before her; and even her spiritual friends could never stand in her presence, without being overwhelmed with a consciousness of their own inferiority and unprofitableness. Amongst innumerable instances, which might be adduced, I shall merely add the testimony of the late excellent Mr. Toplady, who considered her ladyship 'the most precious saint of God he ever knew.'"

Similar testimony is borne to her worth by Fletcher, Whitefield, Berridge, Wesley, and others, whether of the Calvinistic or the Arminian side of the house.

Her life was now more exclusively than ever consecrated to the cause of religion. As the ties which bound her to the world weakened, those which bound her to the Gospel and its success grew stronger. Her days thenceforward were passed in maintaining preachers at her own charges, sending them forth into every part of the kingdom, erecting and endowing chapels in London and in different parts of the country, frequently journeying through the Island to see after their welfare, and especially in instituting and superintending a college for the education of ministers for her Connexion, (as Calvinistic Methodism came to be denominated,) first at Trevecca, in South Wales, and afterward at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where it yet remains. It is impossible, within the narrow limits of an article, to follow her through all her labors, which were many and never-ending. The greater part, indeed, of the large volumes of her memoirs is devoted to the lives and labors of her ministers, and to interesting anecdotes of their personal characters, professional adventures and services, with all of whom,

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however, she was more or less intimately connected, and in all whose labors she shared either as a moving cause, a watchful and interested observer, or sympathizing friend. But even of the incidents and labors more strictly connected with herself we can here take no proper notice. We shall content ourselves with recording the principal remaining events of her life, and offering such selections from the pages of her biographer as shall throw most light upon her character.

New afflictions awaited Lady Huntingdon. In the year 1757, eleven years after the death of her husband, she lost another son, of the age of eighteen years, — one only being now left, — and a few years afterward this was followed by the death of her youngest daughter, the Lady Selina Hastings, to whom her mother appears to have been most ardently attached. Of her illness and death, Mr. Romaine, one of Lady Huntingdon's ministers and friends, thus writes;

"You have heard, I suppose, of Lady Selina's illness. She had a violent fever for about seventeen days, and the physicians did not apprehend she was in any great danger, although she was near her end. On Thursday morning, about 4 o'clock, the Lord took her to himself. O what a stroke was that we say to Lady Huntingdon! No, indeed, it was all mercy, all love, like the rest of Jesus's gracious dealings with his people. During her illness, Lady Huntingdon had every day many promises given her of God's kindness to her daughter; all which she interpreted in a carnal sense, like the Jews, and thought her daughter would recover, and do well again. By this means she was wonderfully supported, and her spirits were kept up to the last. And when the Lord let her see things were otherwise intended, then she thought that he had prepared for her a fresh fund of comfort. For such was Lady Selina's behavior, and such her speeches, from the beginning of her illness, that there is no doubt she died happy in the arms of Jesus. My dear friend, if I had time to tell you all the particulars of her death, your soul would abundantly rejoice, and all that is within you would bless the God of your salvation. To him she committed herself, trusted him, found him faithful, and declared over and over again, that in him she was happy. Her last words to her mother, when she took her leave, were these; Lady Huntingdon had said, 'My dearest child, how do you feel your heart? Are you happy?' Lady Selina answered, lifting up her head from her pillow, which she had not done for several days, '*I am happy, exceedingly happy in Jesus.*' Then she kissed Lady Huntingdon, and presently

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went home. Although my lady bears this so well, yet she feels it. She is but a woman, and though a gracious one, yet grace does not destroy nature. She is a parent, and at present incapable of writing." — p. 334.

Lady Huntingdon's biographer, who, it will be remembered, is a relative, "a member of the houses of Shirley and Hastings," bears his testimony also to the excellence of this young lady's character, and the greatness of her mother's sorrow.

"It was Lady Selina's happiness," he says, "to be born of a parent, who considered a religious education the highest accomplishment, with which her daughter could be graced, and the most valuable patrimony, with which she could be endowed. Her disposition was naturally amiable, and she studied to repay maternal affection with an attachment that grew with her growth, and strengthened with her strength. Her religion was the religion of the heart, and consisted in an habitual intercourse with her God, from which neither the attractions of youth and fortune, nor the dazzling splendor of high life, could divert her. Her conduct demonstrated the reality and energy of a divine principle, always alive and active in its influence on her mind. And as her life was amiable and useful, so its closing scenes were highly interesting. Possessing the *grace*, and living the *life*, she had the consolation of departing in the full enjoyment of faith. * * * To resign into the arms of death so affectionate and dutiful a daughter, was a severe trial to the Countess; but the consideration that it was ordered by that Being, who is too wise to be mistaken, and too good to be unkind, silenced every opposing thought. 'The choicest flowers we gather from the garden of society, which yield us the richest fragrance, too often fade in our bosom, drop their leaves, and moulder in the dust.' The loss of such a child was very sensibly felt by her afflicted mother; she best knew her worth, and most keenly deplored the parting stroke. But through the whole of this suffering season, this time of sorest anguish, she was enabled to look for help and strength to the rock of her salvation, to yield implicit submission to the will of God, to be absolutely resigned to his disposal, and to repress every murmuring thought. 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good,' was the prevailing language of her humble, sorrowing, submissive soul." — Vol. I. p. 335.

Another adversity, of a kind yet heavier to bear, overtook the already afflicted lady, not long after the death of her daughter. Her cousin, Lawrence, Earl of Ferrers, a man of violent passions and dissolute manners, after having often threatened the

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life of his wife, who happily before he succeeded in his aims was able to procure a bill of separation, then, as if still bent upon the gratification of the most savage and cruel nature, murdered in cold blood his steward, whom he suspected, — as one of the receivers of his estate on behalf of his wife, — of paying over to her a larger sum than was her due. Nowhere but in England, we suppose, could it have happened that a man, with all the limbs and common strength of a man, at the command of a superior in rank, would quietly kneel down to be shot through the heart. Anywhere else two men shut up together in a room in the manner described below, would have been reduced to the level of men; one would have risen, the other have sunk, and there would have been a struggle at least for what was equally dear to both. The narrative is hardly credible.

"Having ordered Mr. Johnson [the steward] to attend him to Stanton, his Lordship contrived to send all the men servants out of the way, so that there was no person in the house but himself and three female servants. On Mr. Johnson entering the room, Lord Ferrers locked the door. His Lordship then ordered him to settle an account, and after a little time produced a paper purporting, as he said, to be a confession of his villainy, and required him to sign it. Johnson refused; on which his Lordship, drawing a pistol from his pocket, ordered him to kneel down, which the terrified man did, upon one knee; but Lord Ferrers cried out so loud as to be heard by one of the women at the kitchen door, 'Down on your other knee, declare what you have acted against Lord Ferrers, your time has come and you must die.' He fired, and the ball entered Mr. Johnson's body just below the last rib, yet he did not drop, but rose up and expressed the sensations of a dying man, both by his looks and broken sentences." — Vol. I. p. 403.

At his trial, the murderer was persuaded by his family and friends to plead insanity, which, much against his will, he at length consented to do. It did not, however, avail him; he was found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. In relation to this vein of insanity in the blood of his family, the author is betrayed into curious inconsistencies. "It was melancholy," he says, "to see two of his brothers brought to depose to lunacy as existing in their blood, in order to save their brother's life." Yet just before, — a page or more, — speaking of Lord Ferrers, he says; "Though he was at times a very intelligent

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person, and a nobleman conversant in the constitution of his country, yet, on divers occasions, [he had] exhibited symptoms of *constitutional* insanity." Yet, as the reader will recollect, he resented the imputation of insanity upon the family, on the part of Mr. Southey! So far as we can judge from the whole narrative of this affair of Earl Ferrers, there seems to be no more proof of his insanity than may be made out in the case of every man, who gives way to the violence of his passions. He was a selfish, dissolute, tyrannical, and thoroughly unprincipled man, and why should it be a surprising thing he should commit the crime he did? Throughout his trial, during his imprisonment, and on his way to the gallows, his conduct was never that of a lunatic, but most unequivocally that of a cool, deliberate, heartless villain.

Yet very great exertions were made to save this miscreant's life, and, to her great discredit must it be said, among those who were active in these mistaken efforts of humanity, was Lady Huntingdon. It would not be very wonderful in the case of most persons in such circumstances, if their feelings overcame their judgment, and they had acted rather from impulse than principle, and the dictates of a religiously enlightened sense of duty. But we cannot make these excuses in the case of Lady Huntingdon, whose profession, if we may say so, was religion, and whose well-trained mind had become so superior in other directions to the influences of low, selfish, and worldly motives. So that we are left to the belief, that in this hour of severe temptation, her pride of birth, of which she had a large share, asserted a paramount supremacy, however little conscious she might have been of its secret sway, and called upon her to strain every nerve, that the blood of Hastings and the Shirleys need not afterward be traced to the veins of one who had died a murderer upon the gallows. Happily for the interests of justice, the petitions of friends and relatives, and the importunities of rank, utterly failed. The king, to his honor, was immovable. "As the House of Lords," he said "had found him guilty, he would not interfere." A petition was presented by the Lord Keeper, but the king refused to hear him.

But we turn from this to other scenes in Lady Huntingdon's life, in which her character is more pleasingly displayed, and more in accordance with its distinguishing qualities. Among these was her courageousness in standing forth in all circumstances, and among all ranks of people, for the honor of re-

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ligion, her readiness to perform any office, however humble, or however dangerous, or of however doubtful propriety and expediency in the common opinion, if in her own judgment religion in general or Methodism in particular was to be profited. As an example of the way in which she was prompt and anxious to do good, both by the giving of alms and ministering to the wants of the soul at the same time, we have an account of her visits to a poor woman, the wife of a soldier in Brighton, to whom, after she had relieved her necessities, she spoke concerning her religious interests, and in such a manner as produced a deep impression upon her heart. She persuaded the Countess to repeat her visits, which are thus described.

"The apartment," says her biographer, "was contiguous to a public bakehouse, and the people that came to the oven, heard through a crack in the partition her Ladyship conversing on spiritual subjects. This soon became noised abroad, and other poor women, feeling a desire to hear such things, attended at the lodgings of the soldier's wife at appointed times for that purpose. Her usual method was to converse with them about the one thing needful, to read and expound the Scriptures, and to pray with them. In a little time the number of her hearers increased, and as often as they could be collected, she joyfully proclaimed to them the unsearchable riches of Christ. The affectionate and fervent manner, in which she addressed them, was an affecting proof of the interest she took in their spiritual concerns. There was an energy in her manner that was irresistible. Her subject, her language, her gestures, the tone of her voice, and the turn of her countenance, all conspired to fix the attention and affect the heart.

"On one of these occasions, a blacksmith, named Joseph Wall, a man notorious for his profligacy, having been directed to the place of meeting, obtained admittance, though none but females had hitherto attended. Lady Huntingdon coming in, felt much surprise at seeing him in a corner of the room, and hesitated in her mind whether to request him to withdraw, or to refrain from speaking to him. At length, she determined to take no notice of him, and to proceed in her usual course, (which she considered was the path of duty,) by praying with these poor women, and setting before them the 'things which accompany salvation.' The word thus spoken was applied by the power of the Holy Spirit to the heart of Joseph Wall, and from that time he became a distinguished specimen of the power of divine grace, so that all who knew him were constrained to acknowledge the marvellous change. For a period of twenty-nine years he adorned the

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doctrine of God his Saviour by a life of holiness, and through every period of his religious life, appeared as a pilgrim and stranger in the world." — Vol. I. p. 313.

Here was a ministry in the true line of the apostles. Her influence seems to have been great over persons in every rank.

"Wherever she went, she invariably produced an extraordinary degree of attention to religious subjects. Her Ladyship's character was in many respects new. There was a publicity in her religion, which no other Dissenter, Puritan, Churchman, or Reformer, had ever displayed, at least since the Reformation. Wherever she was, and in whatever company, her conversation was on religion, in which there was this peculiarity, that she spoke of the sins and errors of her former life, her conversion to God, the alteration in her heart and conduct; and she plainly said to all, it was absolutely necessary that the same change should take place in them, if they would have any hope in death. What an innumerable multitude will have abundant cause to bless God to all eternity on her account, as the honored instrument in his hands of leading them to a saving acquaintance with the truth as it is in Jesus. The means, on which she chiefly relied in this good work, was the erecting of numerous chapels, where the glad tidings of a free and full salvation, suited to the wants and necessities of the ruined, the vilest, and most abject of the human race, have been and still continue to be faithfully proclaimed; whereby many outcasts and wanderers have been brought back to the fold of the great shepherd and bishop of souls." — Vol. I. p. 443.

Lady Huntingdon did not to the last despair of exciting some saving power over the mind of Lord Chesterfield, an old and intimate friend of her house. Writing to Dr. Doddridge, she says;

"Sometimes I do hope for dear Lord Chesterfield, and Lord Bath, Mr. Stanhope, and one of the privy council of Denmark, with a great many ladies and people of fashion as well as of quality. I know your warm heart will rejoice in this, and your prayers will help with ours for an increase to our blessed Lord's kingdom, even among them."

But notwithstanding he constantly attended Mr. Whitefield's preaching, when he was at Lady Huntingdon's, yet, as her biographer remarks, "he deceived her hopes." It shows the simple fervor of Lady Huntingdon's faith, that she could "have

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hopes" of making a Methodist of a man like Chesterfield. Upon the mind of Lady Chesterfield, however, and others of the same family, Lady Huntingdon had the pleasure to perceive that deep and permanent impressions were made by their intercourse with herself, and by the preaching of Whitefield.

"Lady Chesterfield," says the author, "was a natural daughter of George the First. Born to wealth, and allied to a rich and noble house, she was fitted to make a distinguished figure among the great, and to shine at court. Her various accomplishments attracted general admiration; and she was for many years fascinated with the splendor and allurements of high life, which seemed to absorb all her thoughts, and gratify her utmost wishes. But it pleased God to lead her to attend the preaching of Mr. Whitefield, at the Countess of Huntingdon's house; and to convince her, that no situation, however high and elevated, can secure to its possessor uninterrupted felicity; and at the same time exhibited to her view the source of true and permanent happiness. Lady Chesterfield knew the world too well not to expect its hatred and reproach for casting her fortunes, her honors, and her talents at the foot of his cross. In compliance with the wishes of Lord Chesterfield, her Ladyship sometimes went to Court, and mixed with the gay and thoughtless, but found no pleasure in the fashionable follies of those around her. The last time she visited the royal circle, her plain but elegant dress was of a brown ground with silver flowers, which Lord Chesterfield, a nobleman of undoubted taste, had obtained from the Continent at considerable expense. His Majesty, who, it seems, was well acquainted with the proceedings at Lady Huntingdon's, coming up to Lady Chesterfield, first smiled, and then, forgetting royal decorum, remarked, 'I know who chose that gown for you, — Mr. Whitefield. And I hear you have attended on him this year and a half.' Lady Chesterfield replied, 'Yes, I have, and like him very well;' but after she came to her chair, was grieved that she had not said more, when she had so favorable an opportunity." — Vol. I. p. 463.

As a further illustration of the manner in which Lady Huntingdon exercised her influence for religion, and at the same time serving as a sprightly, and we presume authentic picture of life in courts, we offer to the reader the following account of her collision with Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury.

"About this time Lady Huntingdon engaged in an affair, which had excited much of the public attention, and ultimately drew forth the censures of royalty. Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of

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Canterbury, during the preceding winter had given several large balls and convivial routs at his palace. Mrs. Cornwallis was also recognised in all the journals of the day, as a leading personage in the fashionable world, who eclipsed everybody by the splendor and magnificence of her equipages and entertainments. These outrages on all decency attracted the notice of every friend to propriety, and even drew forth many satirical observations from some of the gay personages who were most frequent at the palace. Lady Huntingdon determined to remonstrate with the Archbishop, and for this purpose sought and obtained an introduction and an interview. It ended, as might almost with certainty be expected. A clergyman in so high a station, who sought his pleasures in such indulgences, was not over likely to take kindly any interference from such a quarter; still less his wife, as everybody would guess. His Grace was violently offended, and Mrs. Cornwallis scrupled not to reprobate and ridicule Lady Huntingdon in all the fashionable circles. But this, instead of having the effect she so much desired, only drew additional odium on the Archbishop."

After failing in one other attempt to influence the Archbishop, Lady Huntingdon resolved to seek an audience with the King, [George III.,] which was immediately granted. We give the account of it entire.

"On the day appointed, her Ladyship, accompanied by the Duchess of Ancaster and Lord Dartmouth, went to the King's palace at Kew, where she was received in the most gracious manner by both their Majesties. The King listened to everything she said with great dignity and marked earnestness, but with evident emotion; 'Madam,' said he, 'the feelings you have discovered, and the conduct you have adopted on this occasion, are highly creditable to you. The Archbishop's behavior has been slightly hinted to me already; but now that I have a certainty of his proceedings and most ungracious conduct toward your Ladyship, after your trouble in remonstrating with him, I shall interpose my authority, and see what that will do toward reforming such indecent practices.'

"Lady Huntingdon had the honor of conversing with their Majesties for upwards of an hour, on a great variety of topics.

"The King and also the Queen complimented her Ladyship in the highest terms on the many benevolent actions which had been reported to them, and her great and commendable zeal in the cause of religion. His Majesty then told Lady Huntingdon he was no stranger to her proceedings; but added, that he often found it difficult to obtain an un-

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prejudiced account of what she said and did. 'I have been told so many odd stories of your Ladyship,' said the King, 'that I am free to confess, I felt a degree of curiosity to see if you were at all like other women; and I am happy in having an opportunity of assuring your Ladyship of the very good opinion I have of you, and how very highly I estimate your character, your zeal, and abilities, which cannot be consecrated to a more noble purpose.'

"His Majesty then spoke of the talents of some of her Ladyship's preachers, whom he understood were very eloquent men.

"'The bishops,'" said he, "'are very jealous of such men.' And he went on to mention a conversation he had lately had with a dignitary, whom he would not name. The prelate had complained of the conduct of some of Lady Huntingdon's students and ministers, who had made a great disturbance in his diocese. 'Make bishops of them, make bishops of them,' said the King. 'That might be done,' replied the bishop, 'but please your Majesty, we cannot make a bishop of Lady Huntingdon.' 'Well, well,' said the King, 'see if you cannot imitate the zeal of these men.' 'As for her Ladyship, you cannot make a bishop of her, it is true; it would be a lucky circumstance if you could, for she puts you all to shame,' added the Queen. His Lordship made some reply which did not please the King, and his Majesty, with more than his usual warmth, replied; 'I wish there was a Lady Huntingdon in every diocese in the kingdom.' It is remarkable that this bishop never afterwards made his appearance at court.

"The Queen inquired for Lady Chesterfield, who had been a great favorite with their Majesties, but had not visited the court for some years. The King reminded Lady Huntingdon of his father, of whom he spoke in a feeling manner, and lamented his premature death. 'I remember seeing your Ladyship,' said the King, 'when I was young. You then frequented the court circle; and I cannot forget that you was a favorite with my revered father, the Prince of Wales.'

"We discussed a great many topics," says Lady Huntingdon, "for the conversation lasted upwards of an hour, without intermission. The Queen spoke a good deal, asked many questions, and before I retired, insisted on my taking some refreshment. On parting, I was permitted to kiss their Majesties' hands; and when I returned my humble and most grateful acknowledgments for their very great condescension, their Majesties immediately assured me they felt both gratified and pleased with the interview, which they were so obliging as to wish might be renewed."

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A few days after this interview, the following admonitory letter was addressed by the King to the Archbishop of Canterbury;

"'My good Lord Prelate; I could not delay giving you the notification of the grief and concern with which my breast was affected, at receiving authentic information that routs have made their way into your palace. At the same time I must signify to you my sentiments on this subject, which hold these levities and vain dissipations as utterly inexpedient, if not unlawful, to pass in a residence for many centuries devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence; I add, in a place where so many of your predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the religion they professed and adorned.

"From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties, not to speak in harsher terms, and on still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately, so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner. May God take your Grace into his almighty protection! I remain, my Lord, your gracious friend,

G. R.'

"The first time their Majesties saw Lord Dartmouth, after the interview with Lady Huntingdon, the King told him he thought her Ladyship one of the best of women, a sentiment in which the Queen heartily concurred. 'I was much taken with her appearance and manner,' said his Majesty; 'there is something so noble, so commanding, and withal so engaging about her, that I am quite captivated with her Ladyship. She appears to possess talents of a very superior order, is clever, well-informed, and has all the ease and politeness belonging to a woman of rank. With all the enthusiasm ascribed to her, she is an honor to her sex, and the nation.

"And afterward, when one day at court, Lady Huntingdon became the subject of conversation, the King and Queen took up her defence against the aspersions of some who were present, especially a noble lady, who observed, she thought her, (Lady Huntingdon,) so great an enthusiast, that she certainly must be deranged in her intellects. The King, who had been listening most attentively, replied with great quickness, 'Deranged, Madam, did you say?' 'Yes, please your Majesty,' said her Ladyship, 'for no one could act as she does that was not insane;' and then related the circumstance of Lady Huntingdon having called on the Archbishop of Canterbury to 'preach to his Grace' for presuming to see company, 'which impertinence,' she said, 'Mrs.

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Cornwallis resented with becoming spirit.' Their Majesties, and the Duchess of Ancaster, (a friend of Lady Huntingdon,) exchanged looks, and the King laughed heartily. The Duchess of Hamilton, who was present, fearing the unfortunate Marchioness would get deeper into the scrape, made a motion to her to be silent, which the King perceiving, immediately demanded of her Ladyship what Mrs. Cornwallis had said of Lady Huntingdon, and if the Archbishop had not given her his blessing. 'His blessing!' repeated the Marchioness, with much surprise, 'no, indeed, please your Majesty, I am sure, she had no right to expect any such favor. I really don't know what I might not have said, had she intruded herself upon me in a similar manner.' Observing the Duchess of Ancaster smile, the Marchioness added, 'If your Majesty wishes to be further informed of Lady Huntingdon's practices, I dare say the Duchess of Ancaster can give you every informatiou, as she is a very great friend of her Ladyship's.' 'I am proud of the friendship of such a woman,' replied the Duchess, 'and know of nothing to condemn, but much to commend, in the Countess of Huntingdon.'

"The Queen, perceiving the temper of the Marchioness a little ruffled, observed, that she had lately derived much pleasure in the society of Lady Huntingdon, whom she considered a very sensible, a very clever, and a very good woman. The unfortunate Marchioness was all astonishment and confusion, and would have withdrawn immediately, had not the King in the kindest manner taken her hand, and assured her she was quite mistaken in the opinion she had formed of Lady Huntingdon. 'Pray, Madam,' said his Majesty, 'are you acquainted with her?' The Marchioness replied in the negative. 'Have you ever been in company with her?' inquired the King. 'Never,' replied the astonished Marchioness. 'Then,' said the monarch, 'never form your opinion of any one from the ill-natured remarks and censures of others. Judge for yourself; and you have my leave to tell everybody how highly I think of Lady Huntingdon.'" — Vol. II. p. 280.

The same disposition to oppose wickedness in high places, and in all places, is seen in Lady Huntingdon's interview with the Lord Chancellor Thurlow.

"Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who was then (1771) at Bath, (where Lady Huntingdon passed a portion of every year,) having signified a wish to be acquainted with Lady Huntingdon, Lady Betty (Germaine,) undertook to introduce him. The Chancellor undertook to dazzle Lady Huntingdon with the variety and splendor of his talents; while she overwhelmed him

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with astonishment at the unaffected simplicity of her conversation, and the depth of her theological acquirements. His Lordship was very fond of relaxing from the arduous duties of his office, but had a disagreeable habit of mixing oaths in his conversation at all times. It is said the reproofs of Lady Huntingdon were of singular service to him in this particular; so much so, as to excite the jocularity of some of his friends, who used to tell him he would soon be a convert to all her Ladyship's opinions." —Vol. II. p. 49.

Many anecdotes of distinguished persons are scattered through these ample volumes, for which we wish we had room. We cannot refrain from copying into our pages, interrupting for a moment our illustration of Lady Huntingdon's character, the following notice of Cowper's personal appearance, and of his first acquaintance with the Unwins.

"Just at this period the celebrated author of 'The Task' sought retirement and concealment there, (Huntingdon,) where he might often have the company of his brother alone, withou being known to the numerous academical friends, amidst whom he resided, at Cambridge; but he could not anywhere long remain unnoticed. Mr. Cowper's appearance was striking and interesting; a most intelligent and engaging countenance, a well proportioned figure, and elegant manners, speedily drew attention from the inhabitants of a rural borough town. Young Mr. Unwin, happening to be at Huntingdon at the period when Mr. Cowper came to reside there, conceived a strong desire for the acquaintance of the interesting stranger, and being himself possessed of engaging manners, surmounted Mr. Cowper's reserve, and gradually acquired his confidential friendship. Such was the origin of the introduction of Cowper to the family of Mr. Unwin, consisting of himself, his wife, the son already named, and a daughter; an event, which, when viewed in connexion with his remaining years, will scarcely yield in importance to any feature of his life. Concerning these engaging persons, whose general habits of life, and especially whose piety, rendered them the very associates, whom Cowper wanted, he thus expresses himself in a letter, written two months after to one of his earliest and warmest friends; 'Now I know them, I wonder that I liked Huntingdon so well before I knew them, and am apt to think I should find every place disagreeable that had not an Unwin belonging to it.'" —Vol. II. p. 141.

We find this notice taken of Mr. Lindsey's resignation of the living of Catterick, and of Lady Huntingdon's efforts to dissuade him from such a step.

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"The Rev. Theophilus Lindsey had been wavering in his sentiments relative to the doctrine of the Trinity, and subscription to the thirty-nine articles of the Established Church.

"Soon after the meeting at the Feather's Tavern, he announced his intention of resigning the living of Catterick, as absolutely necessary for his peace with God, which he preferred above all considerations. In this resolution he was strongly opposed by Lady Huntingdon, who endeavored, by every argument and motive which zeal and friendship could suggest, to retain in the Church a man so truly upright and conscientious. But her efforts, though well intended, were unavailing. Mr. Lindsey's resolution had been formed upon deliberation too mature, and upon principles too sacred and too firmly riveted, to be in the least degree shaken by the argument or expostulations of his worthy patroness and friend. He had formed an acquaintance with Dr. Priestley, and Mr. Turner of Wakefield, both Socinians, and, convinced by their arguments, adopted their principles, religious and political.

"In obedience to what he considered the voice of conscience, he resigned his residence and living of Catterick, with all its secular advantages and comforts." — Vol. II. p. 290.

Lady Huntingdon was the means of alleviating, by her benefactions and her Christian sympathy, the last days of the poet Savage.

"The imprisonment of Savage the poet," says her biographer, "a man whose writings entitle him to an eminent rank in the classes of learning, and whose misfortunes claim a degree of compassion not always due to the unhappy, as they were often the consequences of the crimes of others, rather than his own, was at this time the universal subject of conversation in the upper circles in London, Bath, and Clifton. Deserted by those who had hitherto caressed and applauded him, he was arrested for a small debt, and conveyed to the common jail of Bristol. Lady Huntingdon, Lady Fanny Shirley, Lady Anne, and Lady Frances Hastings, were then in Bath, and upon learning from him an account of his condition, immediately sent him relief. A few weeks after, her Ladyship and noble relatives removed to Clifton, and volunteered, with several persons of distinction, to make a collection for his enlargement, but he treated the proposal with the utmost disdain. He very frequently received visits, and sometimes presents from his acquaintances; but they did not amount to a subsistence, for the greater part of which he was indebted to Lady Huntingdon, Lady Fanny Shirley, the Ladies Hastings, and the keeper, who did not confine his benevolence to

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a gentle execution of his office, but made some overtures to his creditors for his release, though without effect. Mr. Dagge, the keeper of the prison, was well known to her Ladyship, as the frequent hearer of Mr. Whitefield, and the Messrs. Wesley; and hence, we may presume, sprung that humanity, which induced him to support Mr. Savage at his own table, without any certainty of recompense; so that he suffered fewer hardships in prison than he had been accustomed to undergo in the greatest part of his life.

"Just at this period, Mr. Whitefield again visited Bristol, where he stayed a considerable time, preaching statedly every day twice, and four times on the Sunday. From his great intimacy with Mr. Dagge, it is presumed he enjoyed many opportunities of conversing with Mr. Savage; but of this we have no certain information. Still there is abundant reason to believe, from some expressions in a letter of Lady Huntingdon, that he had frequently seen and heard that apostolic man not only in the chapel of the prison, but at the table of the humane keeper. Certain it is, her Ladyship and noble relatives did not confine their benevolence merely to the relief of his temporal wants; they frequently visited him in prison, and anxiously sought to direct his attention to the vast concerns of an eternal world. During the whole period of his imprisonment, they continued to treat him with the utmost tenderness and civility; yet such was the wayward disposition of this singular character, that, though caressed, esteemed, and liberally supported, he could forget on a sudden his danger and his obligations to gratify the petulance of his wit, or the eagerness of his resentment, and employed himself in prison in writing a satirical poem, called 'London and Bristol Delineated,' by which he might reasonably expect he should alienate those who then liberally contributed to his support and comfort, and provoke those whom he could neither resist nor escape. But he disregarded all considerations that opposed his present passions, and readily hazarded all future advantages for any immediate gratifications. Whatever was his prominent inclination, neither hope nor fear hindered him from complying with it; nor had opposition any other effect than to heighten his ardor, and irritate his vehemence. The performance, however, was laid aside, at the request of Lady Fanny, whilst she was employed in soliciting assistance for him from several great persons. To Mr. Pope her Ladyship addressed a melancholy account of his sufferings and his wants, in the hope of reviving in that peevish little man some feeling of compassion toward his former friend. The application was in vain. A few weeks before the death of this unfortunate and imprudent man, Mr. Pope

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wrote him a letter, that contained a charge of very atrocious ingratitude, drawn up in such terms as sudden resentment dictated. What were the particulars of this charge we are not informed; but, from the notorious character of the man, there is reason to fear that Mr. Savage was but too justly accused. He, however, solemnly protested his innocence; but he was unusually affected at the accusation." — Vol. II. p. 367.

In a few days he died, his funeral expenses being defrayed by Lady Huntingdon and a few friends. This excellent woman is thus seen to have been not only the leader of a sect of Christians, and active in the peculiar labors which devolve upon one holding such an office, but to have been as actively devoted to the duties of Christian benevolence as if that had constituted the proper employment of her life.

"Her compassionate heart," says her biographer, "tenderly sympathizing in the distress of her fellow creatures, and breathing forth the most affectionate ardor for their eternal interests, induced her to visit the prisons, the house of pestilence, and the chambers of mortal disease, wherever the voice of misery invited her, bearing with her the mercy of the Gospel, to souls on the very brink of eternity. Cessation from labor was a state of most painful mortification to her Ladyship, and called forth the severest exercise of self-denial. The venerable Countess inherited no small portion of her Master's spirit, and persevered in active service from the first hour that she commenced her spiritual course, till called to a crown of eternal blessedness in heaven. Never weary in well doing, on this, as on former visits to Bristol and the Hot-Wells, her Ladyship and the Ladies Hastings renewed their benevolent intentions towards the poor debtors in Newgate. Several ladies of rank were enlisted in this work of mercy, and Lady Huntingdon had the heartfelt satisfaction of liberating many miserable individuals, whose debts were under ten pounds. Some were restored to their families, and others, by her munificence, were enabled to prosecute their lawful callings with honor and credit. Facts like these are the beauty and glory of history, and reflect additional lustre on the character of this venerable woman."

But it was by no means the chief or characteristic labor of Lady Huntingdon's life to minister in her own person to either the temporal or spiritual necessities of her fellow creatures, unwearied as her efforts were in that direction. She is rather to be re-

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garded as the leader * of a great religious movement, to which she consecrated her time, her talents, and her wealth. If the reader would have a just idea of the manner, in which she passed her time from her thirty-ninth year, when Lord Huntingdon died, to the period of her own death, a space of forty-four years, he must imagine her as the *business* partner in an extensive and prosperous enterprise; as the founder of chapels and the head of a college. In London, throughout England, in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, and in America, she erected churches out of her ample resources, supplied them with preachers, and, often as her health and distance would permit, visited them to see after their welfare. For twenty years she was present at her college at Trevecca to witness and join in the solemnities of its anniversary celebration. All the appointments both of ministers to her chapels, and of teachers in her college, being in her hands, it will be easy to conceive the difficulties and delicacy of the duties which it fell to her to perform, and the weight of responsibility and amount of labor which devolved upon her. It cannot be surprising, if, in performing the various duties of so arduous an office, she met with obstructions and vexations, and came into painful collision not only with persons connected with her in the way of business, but with the judgments and opinions of those whom she held dearest; nor would it be surprising if the blame, which was justly to be imputed to one of the parties, was sometimes to be traced to herself. We cannot ourselves say, in what proportion such blame attached to her, or whether at all, since all the elements for forming a complete

* "Another object," says Philip, in his life of that great man, "lay near Mr. Whitefield's heart. It was during this winter's quarters, that he formed the design of identifying Lady Huntingdon with his societies, the only plan he ever laid for perpetuating them. He saw her a Dorcas at 'that dead place,' Ashby Place, and felt that she might and ought to be a Phœbe. She had used her influence at his solicitation with the court and the government on behalf of the Cork riots; and had readily patronized such poor and persecuted ministers as he brought under her notice. All this, and the want of a leader, led him to seek her patronage, especially for his societies in the west of the town." * * * In a letter to her, he says, "A leader is wanting. This honor hath been put upon your Ladyship by the Great Head of the Church; an honor conferred on few; but an earnest of one to be put on your Ladyship before men and angels, when time shall be no more. That you may every day add to the splendor of your future crown, by always abounding in the work of the Lord, is the fervent prayer of ———."—*Philip's Life of Whitefield*, p. 345.

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idea of Lady Huntingdon's character are by no means afforded us in these volumes. It is not easy to know what the faults or weaknesses of a character are, which is seen but from one point of view. We see Lady Huntingdon in this large biography only or chiefly in her relations with public measures, institutions, and persons, acting in the face of society, with the world for observers. We need to have a closer and more familiar acquaintance, to know her more thoroughly in her more private walks, and especially in her earlier years, in order to understand her whole character. Here she is held up before us as she was by grace; we want to know besides, what she was by nature, for the natural character is the ground color which shines through all that are ever laid over it, and gives to them a predominant tone. But her biographer seems fair, and gives as his own judgment a part, at least, of what we could not have discovered ourselves. "Was Lady Huntingdon," he asks, "a perfect character? No! This is not the lot of mortals on this side the grave. 'When the moon walketh in brightness, her shadows are most visible.' She was in her temper warm and sanguine, her predilections for some, and her prejudices against others, were sometimes too hastily adopted, and by these she was led to form conclusions not always correspondent with truth and wisdom. The success attending her efforts seemed to impress her mind with a persuasion, that a particular benediction would rest upon whomsoever she should send forth, and rendered her choice not always the most judicious; though seldom were there less offences in so extended a work. She had so long directed the procedures of her Connexion, that she too seldom asked the advice of the judicious ministers who labored with her, nor did she passively bear contradiction. This is the history of truth. She needs no posthumous fame to blazon her worth. She is past, far beyond all human censure. The Great Head of the Church hath decided her character, pitied her infirmities, pardoned her iniquities, and welcomed her to glory with 'Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'" To this add a trait or two from a writer quoted by Philip in his Life of Whitefield, and we catch another glimpse of the "ground color." "She was indeed," he says, "so much the child of emotion, that she is related to have described herself 'as like a ship before the wind, carried on by an impulse she could not resist or describe.'" Again; "The romantic turn of her feelings was as strongly marked during her

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last illness, as in any former period of her life. She desired that her remains might be dressed in the suit of white silk which she wore at the opening of the chapel in Goodman's Fields; and in speaking of her death, said, 'it was like putting off her cloak.'" By these remarks we do not wish to convey the impression, that if we knew more of Lady Huntingdon, we should probably see reason to esteem her less, but only that the volumes of her biographer are not complete in the materials they furnish for forming a judgment. We think it quite as probable that more knowledge would have raised our conceptions of her character, as that it would have lowered them.

In the view we have taken of Lady Huntingdon's life, we have chosen to follow her rather in her religious intercourse with "the world," in her connexions with those of her own rank, and in her efforts to carry religion home to their hearts, than in the other department of her labors, the founding of chapels and colleges, and instituting a new ministry, as these latter services present no variety of interest, and belong more properly to a history of Methodism, than to a life of the Countess. For the same reason we have taken no notice of the early collision of Methodism with the Moravians, the separation of the Calvinistic from the Arminian house, of Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, from the Wesleys, and the sharp controversy which ensued in which Fletcher bore so large a part, nor of the successive steps, which led to the breach with, and withdrawing from the Church of England. These, and other kindred topics, are too large to be treated, except by themselves.

But all labors must have an end, even those as useful as Lady Huntingdon's. Her life, often threatened by severe disease, which brought her more than once to the borders of the grave, and notwithstanding a naturally delicate constitution, was drawn out to a good old age. She died, as we might suppose so good and pious a woman would, in serenity and peace. Her last days are thus described by her biographer and admirer.

"The venerable Countess was now almost at the close of her long and arduous course. And, as the weather-beaten mariner having through many hurricanes, storms, and tempests, swelling billows, dangerous rocks and sands, gained his harbor in peace, so peacefully and quietly her Ladyship entered the haven of eternal rest and repose, truly experiencing the blessedness of those who die in the Lord, whose works follow them."

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"When the blood-vessel broke, which was the commencement of her illness, in November, she said to Lady Anne Erskine, on being asked how she did, 'I am well; all is well; well forever. I see, wherever I turn my eyes, whether I live or die, nothing but victory.'"

"Weakened by complicated disorders, and enfeebled by age, when about a week preceding her departure, she was confined on the bed of languishing, it could not but afford surprise to all around her, that the vigor of her mind was unabated, and her intellects as clear as at any period of her life. The same earnest concern for the work of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of his dear Son, abroad and at home, occupied all her thoughts."

"She appeared, during the tedious days and nights of pain and sickness, engaged in prayer, and animated with thankfulness for the unutterable mercies which she had experienced, saying, 'I am encircled in the arms of love and mercy.' And at another time, 'I long to be at home; O, I long to be at home.' A little before she died, she said repeatedly, 'I shall go to my Father this night;' and shortly after, 'Can he forget to be gracious? Is there any end of his loving kindness?' Almost her last words were, 'My work is done; I have nothing to do but to go to my Father.'

"Her Ladyship died at her house in Spafields, London, next door to the chapel, June 17th, 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, and was interred in the family vault at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire."

Of the character of Lady Huntingdon, our readers will have been able to form some satisfactory opinion from what has gone before. A few extracts from her biographer, and from a writer quoted by Philip in his Life of Whitefield, will supply some features that may be wanting to complete her portrait.

"Lady Huntingdon was unquestionably formed for eminence. Her tender age exhibited a fine dawn of her mature excellence; and she gave early presages of proving highly useful and ornamental to society, if permitted to arrive at those years necessary for maturing the powers of the human mind. Her endowments were much above the ordinary standard. She possessed a highly intelligent mind, an extraordinary quickness of apprehension, a brilliant fancy, a retentive memory, a strong, clear understanding, and a sound judgment, much improved by reading, conversation, deep thought and observation. Her knowledge of mankind, even at an early age, and her penetration into the characters of those with whom she was acquainted, were admirable.

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Though not a regular beauty, she possessed a large portion of the charms of her sex. Her person was noble, commanding respect, her countenance was the living picture of her mind, and united in it a happy combination both of the great and condescending. This engaging exterior was animated by a soul, lively and ardent in its pursuits, and enriched by those qualities which the world most highly commends and esteems." — Vol. I. p. 40.

"Born to a title, and highly elevated in the rank of nobility; endowed with exterior advantages, nor less with intellectual ones; she was enabled, at a time of life, when the mind tends to every sensual gratification, to resist the fascinating phalanx of dissipation, extravagance, gaming, luxury, infidelity, and profaneness, choosing to cast her lot among the despised followers of the Lamb of God. No partizan of a sect, or contracted by the narrow prejudices of bigotry and superstition; but with the most enlarged sentiments, she received those as the servants of Christ, who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Her philanthropy to the souls and bodies of the human race stands almost unparalleled. Her generosity, uncircumscribed, extended above the ordinary rules of social conduct, and flowed with a rapidity not to be comprehended within the precise marks of formal precepts."

"Possessed of the nicest sense of honor, she may have seemed harsh and unforgiving; yet, from what she has often said, and what has been seen in her, she was ever ready to receive again in favor, where the person returned with openness and real humility."

"She saw, she knew, she felt her infirmities. To say she had none, would be to speak unbecomingly of the character of a sinner, saved by grace, or agreeably to every quickened soul's experience."

"Few characters," says the writer quoted by Philip, and styled by him 'a descendant of Doddridge, who hates Calvinism,' "have been more erroneously estimated by the world, than that of Lady Huntingdon. She was, in fact, neither the gloomy fanatic, the weak visionary, nor the abstracted devotee, which different parties have delighted to paint her."

"In the spring day of her life, there was little to distinguish Lady Huntingdon from the many charming and intelligent young women who ever grace the courtly circle in which she moved. She was naturally gay, and the quickness of her disposition rendered her sprightly and amusing; but it does not appear that her gayety tended toward dissipation, or that her conversational talents amounted to wit. How far her religious education had been attended to is not indicated; but there is no

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reason to surmise that it was defective; and had not her maternal and conjugal affections suffered from the shock of family bereavements, her character would probably have remained not less worthy, but far less remarkable, than it is at present."

"The loss of children, and the death of her lord, which occurred before the charms of existence had with her been subdued by the lapse of time, gave a blow to the elasticity of her mind, from which it never recovered. When the first paroxysm of grief had subsided, her exhausted feelings naturally sought a refuge in devotion; and it is only to be regretted, that under the melancholy impressions of the period, her mind the more deeply imbibed the Calvinistic tenets."

"For some years the religious views of Lady Huntingdon were those of the Church of England; she was pious and benevolent in an eminent degree, as her letters evince, but her sentiments were unmarked by peculiarity. As might, however, have been expected, the spirit-stirring eloquence of Whitefield caught her attention, and she became one of his most determined proselytes; and, doubtless, felt delighted to obtain so important a witness to the reality of her *election*. Be this as it may, under his influence, although she never renounced the doctrines of episcopacy, yet she embraced sectarian views incompatible with its practice and well-being; she endowed chapels and sanctioned an independent *form* of worship."

"The influence of Whitefield and his friends over the mind of Lady Huntingdon was most apparent from the year 1748, when he became her chaplain. That influence was, however, so guardedly employed, that the natural vigilance of her character was fully exercised in plans for the propagation of the highly Calvinistic ideas she had espoused. It was not until the year 1768, that she opened her college near Talgarth in South Wales, 'for the education of serious and godly young men, and such as she believed had a divine call.' Besides this academy, the whole expense of which she defrayed, she was deeply interested in the missionary schemes then in motion; and that she might the better uphold the *cause*, reduced her style of living far below what her station in society demanded; and even exhausted her income to such an extent, that she was not able to afford charitable relief in some cases of the utmost necessity, that were brought under her notice."

The principal act of Lady Huntingdon's life was the establishment of her "Connexion" upon a permanent foundation, which term is to be understood as standing for societies of Christians embracing the sentiments of Calvinism, observing the rules

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and peculiar forms of Methodism, and worshipping in chapels founded by her. As a part of this institution is to be regarded also the college formerly of Trevecca, and now at Cheshunt. Originally, Lady Huntingdon and the Calvinistic Methodists were members of the Church of England, as well as the Wesleyans. And it was with peculiar reluctance that she found herself compelled to secede, and join the great body of Dissenters. But when ordination was refused to her ministers, except they abandoned certain practices incompatible with the discipline of the Church, — such, for example, as the minister preaching out of his proper parish whenever the Spirit moved him, — Lady Huntingdon found it necessary, if she would not renounce the most vital peculiarities of Methodism, in which lay the very secrets of its power, to renounce all allegiance to the Church, and place herself on the broader foundation of Presbyterianism. Ordination was accordingly administered at her college to its graduates, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. The first occasion, when this solemn act was performed, occurred on the 9th of May, 1793, an act which publicly proclaimed the secession of Calvinistic Methodism from the establishment. The preacher on that occasion called his hearers to witness, how the ministers of their body had been harassed by the ecclesiastical courts, and prevented preaching where God had evidently called them to labor. This placed them under the necessity of either wilfully opposing the laws of the Church, or receding from the work they had undertaken. This last they could not conscientiously do. They were constrained, therefore, quietly to secede from the Church, and, placing themselves under the Toleration Act, continue to "preach faithfully the *doctrines* of that Church, whose *discipline* as honest men they could not, they dare not submit to."

An idea of the exact position of "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion," in its relation to other communions, may be obtained from the following definition of it by our author.

"Had the Connexion," he says, "been wisely managed from the period of the decease of the Countess, how extensive and flourishing would it have become by this time! It seems necessary that they should exist as a distinct religious community, since they differ from other denominations, either in points of doctrine or discipline. They differ from the Wesleyans by holding the doctrinal articles of the Church of England in their Calvinistic sense; from the Baptists, by the administration of

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baptism to infants, and that by sprinkling or pouring; from the Independents, in admitting the lawfulness, and in many cases the expediency, of using a Scriptural liturgy; from the Church of England herself, in being free to employ whatever they deem valuable, and to refuse whatever appears to them objectionable in her services, while they are exempt from that corrupting influence, to which she is exposed by her union with the state. Many candid persons have acknowledged that Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, if properly conducted, is calculated to be a great blessing to the country, as affording an opportunity for such pious and orthodox members of the Church of England to exercise their ministry, as cannot give their hearty assent and consent to everything contained in and prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; as meeting the views of such as have been deprived of the services of an evangelical clergyman, and by a judicious abridgment and distribution of the prayers in connexion with the faithful preaching of the Word and administration of the ordinances, providing for the spiritual instruction and edification of the people in general."

But, notwithstanding these points of recommendation, "The Connexion," as we gather from the language of the author, and from that used by Philip in his Life of Whitefield, has not flourished as its friends could wish, nor as it did during the lifetime of its founders. Philip laments especially over the decline of the college at Cheshunt. This general decline of the Connexion is to be traced for its cause, we apprehend, not to any of the circumstances hinted at by either writer, but chiefly to the fact of its strong Calvinism. Strict old-fashioned Calvinism, the Calvinism of the Institutes, can look for no more triumphs. It may continue to exist here and there, but it can thrive and grow nowhere. The age is leaving it behind. In the modified forms of some of the new schools alone can it hope to maintain its ground. Arminianism will more and more be the religion of the many; its milder and more genial spirit accords better, both with our nature, and the character and teachings of Jesus. It is, moreover, readily felt and seen to be true. It needs not the aid of metaphysics. It proves itself. Wesleyan Methodism in differing only in this point, or in this chiefly, from the Methodism of Lady Huntingdon and Whitefield, has spread throughout Great Britain and America, while the other has travelled, we suspect, not far beyond its original limits. One other cause of the decline of the Connexion, *we* indeed detect in the very constitution of the Connexion itself. It has

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wanted freedom. It was, during Lady Huntingdon's life, no other than a religious despotism. The whole control of churches and ministers, and even of the college, was in her hands. All appointments were made by her; removal was at her discretion. And at her death the same power descended by will to the Lady Anne Erskine, from whom it once more passed into a small body of trustees. This was a system of management very unfavorable to growth and expansion. It was one of trammels and fetters. There was too much oversight, too much nursing, too much interference. What at first seemed so auspicious of great prosperity, the munificence and personal interest of Lady Huntingdon, proved at last, we are persuaded, to be nothing less than an injury and an obstruction.

But we are warned to take our leave of these very interesting and instructive volumes. They have served greatly to increase our respect and admiration for the first founders and preachers of Methodism, and for the cause in which they labored. They were, in a remarkable degree pure-minded, simple-hearted, earnest, and pious men; their course was, and is, in an emphatic sense, the cause of practical Christianity, of the Christianity of the affections and the life. We honor it with our whole heart. It has always aimed at the highest objects. It has moved on in what seems to us the nearest approach to the steps of Christ and his apostles. It has concerned itself about no novelty or philosophy of the passing day, and but little with any of the questions of doctrine which have agitated the Church. Since the early separation on the great question of human liberty, it has kept aloof from the stormy regions of controversy, and devoted itself to a better work. It has bent all its forces against sin; it has preached Christ and repentance, and been satisfied when it has regenerated the heart and reformed the life. It has adhered to the Gospel; and rightly judged, that if it could succeed in making men Christians, in renewing the heart, in planting deep the principle of piety to God, all other good would flow in with that. It has struck at the root of all evil; while others have been assailing the branches. It has toiled to purify the fountain head; while others have been working at the stream. Christians of all denominations may learn from them, as from the early preachers of our religion, lessons of wisdom. We shall, like them, do more for religion and Christianity, the simpler we make our aim. But we are too much

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set upon discoveries; upon searching out new foundations of faith; upon finding some undreamed of method of looking upon and applying the character of Jesus; some hitherto unthought of manner of administering Christianity; some new adjustment of the relations between minister and people, society and the Church; some organization of Christian institutions, which shall, as it were, cause religion thereafter to go alone; some surprising and rapid advance by means of some new machinery into a state of social and religious perfectibility. Christianity, we are told, is in its infancy, it is not understood, it is to take some new form, which shall bring it more into harmony with the advanced standards of the age, and with minds of a high order. We heartily wish the Gospel might be allowed to remain stationary for a season, to stand stock still where it is, and preachers would go about something else beside reforming it. Let them take the very superficialest truths of the New Testament, those that float on the surface of every page, those which there is no dispute about, and never has been, and never will or can be, the evil of sin, the necessity of repentance, the grace of God, the mediation and example and resurrection of Christ, the future and eternal world, and preach them with a believing heart, let them forget their philosophies and their dreams, and above all, themselves, and follow in the steps of Whitefield, and Wesley, of Methodism and apostolic Christianity, and their ministry will bring forth fruits of holiness, at which they themselves will be astonished, and which the preaching of no *other* gospel will bear so well. What the people wish to see in the minister of religion is, if we are not greatly mistaken, an earnest, zealous preacher of righteousness, — who is the most genuine of reformers. What they want to hear from his lips, and they care to hear little else, is that, with which the ministry of Jesus ended and began, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Art. II. — The Decline of the Arts.

The last few years have given birth to some feeble efforts in several of our larger cities, to encourage the fine arts, especially the art of Painting, among the busy and gain-seeking

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people of the republic. These efforts are certainly laudable; yet we cannot but look upon them as somewhat mean and worthless, when we compare them with the enormous expenditure which has been lavished on works of genius in the old world. But were they far more strenuous than they are, we confess that we could not regard them with much complacency or hope. The very word encouragement, as applied to the more elevated arts, bears to our ears an ominous sound. It brings with it the idea of those forcing processes, which are sometimes applied, with great and enduring results, to the humbler arts, but which are too gross and direct, to bring forth and develop in beauty and vigor the fairer creations of the mind. Upon such means and appliances as the opening of a few galleries and selling pictures by lot, the true spirit of art looks down with wonder, if not with something like disdain. We do not make this remark in any captious or morose mood; but because we believe, that if the fire is to be kindled on the altar of genius, it must be with another torch, and without parade.

History testifies, with great plainness, that the arts will flourish only when the community spontaneously seeks to express its moral and intellectual ideas in outward material forms. Then they necessarily exist; genius comes forth from its hiding places at the irresistible summons, to astonish and awe the world. We may expose paintings and statues to the public gaze, and thus do something to refine the taste of the people; but in vain do we attempt in this manner to create wonderful artists.

Whether the fine arts will ever arrive, in this country, to any remarkable degree of splendor, seems to us extremely doubtful. The intellectual character of our English ancestors is so much in warp and woof our own, that it is greatly to be feared on this account alone, that we shall never soar higher than the eminence which they have reached. Among that comparatively unimaginative and very logical people, the arts, if we except architecture, have never approached perfection. England has had no school of painting or of sculpture, either in her youth or her age; nor is it necessary to say, how inferior she is in both these departments to her neighbors on the continent. The same subjection of the imaginative to the reasoning powers, which has always characterized our father-land, is, if possible, a still more striking feature in our own constitution, and must inevitably link our destiny with hers. This character we cannot

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change; it is the inheritance of ages; and is continually confirmed by a variety of causes quite beyond our control.

We often comfort ourselves with the hope, that, when we are older, the arts will spring forth unbidden, and flourish in immortal vigor. What, it is asked, can be expected of so young a nation? But are we young? Are we not already old? Were we, sixty years or two centuries ago, a tribe of wild men? We sprang at once into manhood. In all that relates to intellect and feeling; in our habits of thought; in our intellectual and moral ideas, we are as old, in some respects, older than our sires. Besides; have not the arts in the old world sometimes flourished in what may be called the youth of nations?

It may be thought, however, that the low condition of the arts among us is owing mainly to the fact, that we are not yet rich enough to pay for them. If we were richer, we imagine it would make but little difference. We contrive, poor as we are, to lavish money in abundance on objects of real or doubtful utility. Why, then, is it, that so little is expended in the grand or graceful creations of genius, but from some cause more radical and permanent, than the want of money? How much has been done for the arts by nations poorer than we? It must be confessed, that we have but little of the spirit of the old world, which has always been ready to sacrifice the merely useful to the gratification of the imagination, and to foster the arts at the expense of almost everything else.

But the great reason why we may not hope that this country will ever make any extraordinary progress in the arts, is not peculiar to ourselves. The arts, we believe, have long since begun to decay, and can never return, in the civilized world, to the splendor of the olden time. The *divinus afflatus* which inspired those immortal works in modern Europe, which so astonish the mind with their marvellous beauty and grandeur, seems to have fled beyond recall. The true masters in the highest art all flourished within the same short period of half a century; it is now three hundred years since they departed; while the most original, and, perhaps, most wonderful work of European genius, the Gothic architecture, has not flourished since the fifteenth century. Since then, who has arisen to claim equal honors with Angelo and Raphael? What nation can cheat itself into the belief, that, during the long period which has since swept away, it has produced anything original in sculpture, that entitles it to exclaim, "we are brethren of the ancients?" In

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architecture, no new style has arisen; we see only countless imitations of old structures, or an endless combination of old forms, without any reigning idea. We copy, with tolerable fidelity, the humbler models of the Gothic age, and approach more nearly to the simple beauty and majesty of the Grecian structure, because it is impossible for us to err, when everything has been laid down for us with the utmost precision by the square and line; but we despair of rivalling its magnificent friezes, which defy the mechanical rules.

This striking decline of the highest art is to be attributed only to some radical and permanent cause. At the first view, it would seem as if the influences to which it has been subjected must have grown more and more propitious, as the race has advanced in civilization. Since art began to languish, the world has become continually richer; its intelligence has been constantly increasing; its taste has been greatly refined; its moral ideas have become more expanded and pure; but we believe that the waning thereof is to be found in this very source, the progress of refinement, which not only renders the arts less necessary, but to some extent impossible.

Paradoxical as this position may appear, it will not be thought extravagant, if we remember that religion is the source of the highest art, and how great a change religion has suffered within the last few centuries. That religion has always been the chief friend of the arts, we shall not attempt to show; the proofs of this fact are too numerous and familiar to need repetition.

In Egypt, painting sprang directly from religious wants; and if sculpture and architecture cannot be traced to the same source, at least, they derived from religion their gigantic forms and unapproachable grandeur. In ancient Greece and modern Europe, the arts, although inherited, were indebted, for the surprising eminence which they attained, in the former to mythology, and in the latter to the Catholic Church. In Greece, sculpture was almost wholly devoted to the expression of religious and moral ideas; and after the revival of the arts in the modern world, painting and sculpture became, if possible, still more so. We have but to read a catalogue of the works of Phidias, or of Michael Angelo and Raphael, to be convinced how thoroughly, in the former case, the artist was inspired with the spirit of a religion, whose outlines were all sharply defined, and which was singularly devoid of mystery; and in the other, with the grand, mystical, and ascetic elements of the Catholic

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faith. Indeed, we might say, without much extravagance, that modern art arose at the bidding of the Church. Its great object, if we may speak of its having an object, was to win men to penitence and holiness. This it aimed to accomplish, by investing religion, so far as it was possible for art to do it, with a mysterious and awful character; by exhibiting the divine in the pictured form and life of Christ; by the vivid manifestation on the canon of the old saints, in "the splendors of their patience," and more than earthly fortitude in suffering; and above all, by showing the most heavenly purity and innocence in the face of woman. Indeed, the highest efforts of genius have always been what may be called the spontaneous development of the prevalent ideas of religion, or have been called forth by the necessity which has been felt of raising the uncultivated mind to a level in spiritual conceptions with the more refined and intelligent, by addressing the imagination through the outward form of the arts in later times. The form and spirit of religion, for several centuries, have been passing through a marked and radical change. Religious conceptions and ideas have gradually become more spiritual, more elevated and refined. It is now no longer possible to embody the highest religious ideas in material shapes and colors. The human form no longer suffices to manifest the divine. With the diffusion of intelligence, the general mind has been so far cultivated, that it no longer needs, to the same degree, the aid of outward manifestations, either to develop, or to strengthen its religious conceptions. This effect of a superior elevation of the religious ideas in depressing the arts is strongly exhibited in the history of the ancient Jews. Among that remarkable people the arts never arose; the cunning workmen on the temple of Solomon were brought from Phenicia. The reason of this singular phenomenon is not to be found only in what has been called, by a certain school of French critics, the narrow and illiberal spirit of their religion, which forbade them to make any graven image, or likeness of God; a command they were sufficiently ready to disobey, at least in the earlier periods of their existence. It is rather to be traced to those grand conceptions of the Deity, which, notwithstanding their occasional lapses into idolatry, were the prevalent ones, which made it impossible for them to attempt any manifestations of his attributes in outward forms; nor was he surrounded by a crowd of inferior deities, more level to the office of genius. They conceived of him as the one Su-

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preme Being, of unlimited power, uncontrolled by fate, mysterious in all his ways, terrible in majesty, inflexibly just, yet far more merciful than man; and although their ideas of the extent of the world, and consequently of God, were limited, although they even attributed to him some of the sterner passions of man; still he was a Being far too mysterious and awful for the most daring mind to conceive the thought of embodying his character or his acts to the human eye. Even those forms, under which he is sometimes represented in words, are all undefined and mysterious. With the Jew, therefore, the highest art was impossible; religion did not only not require it, it forbade it.

If we trace the arts in their higher manifestations, either among Christian or pagan nations, we shall find that they become possible only when the religious and moral notions generally prevalent are sufficiently elevated to inspire the artist, and yet so blended with the outward and material as to make it possible to exhibit them to the eye with some approach to the original idea. Turning to the revival of art in modern Europe, we learn that it did not assume the highest rank, until the Christian religion had lost the purely spiritual character, in which it came from the lips of its founder, and had become a finished system of ceremonies, and of spiritual and material conceptions intimately blended together; until lower ideas of God and Christ became general; until a multitude of what might almost be called inferior deities had been introduced, and the adoration of Mary and supplications to the saints became universal. Then those magnificent works, whose lustre is yet undimmed, shone out of the darkness. But had the church retained only the religious conceptions of the Jews, or only the more refined and spiritual ideas of Christianity itself, those great creations of the painter, which the Catholic Church boasts of as the fruit of her influence, must have slumbered forever.

With the progress of civilization and refinement, the prevalent spiritual ideas became purer and more expanded. Religion began gradually to throw aside its material elements; in some countries of Europe sooner and more decidedly than in others; but among those nations which adopted earliest the civilization which began in the fifth century, the change in these respects has been great. Not only have the conceptions of the infinite and the beautiful been purified and enlarged in the breasts of the few who have been supposed, from their rank,

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to be the natural inheritors of feeling and taste, but a corresponding elevation has happened to the general mind. With the revival of commerce, the great middle class arose from the dust, a more general intelligence has been gradually extending itself, and the current has been gradually setting against the outward. It has become more and more impossible for the higher conceptions of the mind to be manifested in outward and visible forms. As aids to devotion, religion has been constantly needing the higher arts less. Every day makes it less likely that they will ever renew their youth; not because there is less admiration for the true, or poorer conceptions of greatness pervading the minds of those whom the arts address; or because religion has been robbed of its power; but because the moral sentiments and ideas have become so exalted, that we are less satisfied with any outward representation of them.

These views of the decline of the arts will seem less arbitrary, when it is considered, that the same causes have been acting on literature. They have gradually changed, and that perceptibly, the character of poetry, which it is easy to observe has been continually less and less conversant with outward action, and more intimately concerned with the deeper and more refined emotions of the heart. But into this topic, our space forbids us to enter. It may be briefly said, in passing, that the age of the Epic has departed, and that tragedy has suffered a decline.

There are other, although secondary causes, which appear to lead to a still further depression of the arts, while they would seem to hold out great encouragements to exertion. In the social as well as the religious world, the spirit of Humanity has been taking a higher walk. The interests of the great mass of men have put in their claims to be heard, and the conviction has been gradually gaining strength, that the first of duties is to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the whole community. While there has been, for a long time, a gradual tendency in society towards an amelioration of the physical condition of the humbler classes, and, at the same time, to remove inward sources of degradation and misery, it has become a grave question, whether these effects cannot be produced, whether a higher degree of intellectual advancement may not be reached, without the aid of the more costly arts; and the world seems to be deciding, that greater and more permanent influences may be exerted, by the aid of direct instruction, by a more thor-

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ough education of the reasoning powers, and a more definite application of the principles and practical precepts of Christianity, than by those means, which, however they may appeal to a sense of the beautiful in the bosoms of men, yet address the imagination almost exclusively. That the world is greatly indebted to the fine arts, none can fail to acknowledge with gratitude; but he must be blind, who can compare them for a moment, with the means of advancing the general mind, which modern society has brought into action; means, which are as various as they are multiplied, and which must inevitably lead on to stages of improvement, to which the imagination itself can set no bounds. We may believe, therefore, that the world will not soon be eager to patronize again the highest art. It is true, indeed, that within the last few years we have seen the statue of Napoleon at length erected on the column of the Place Vendome, and the triumphal arch de l'Etoile finished. Yet we may look in vain for the completion of the towers of old cathedrals. Society has entered on a new career, in which so much is to be done, that it requires the severest economy, while it demands the greatest sacrifices; nor can we discern any limits to this career, until the real evils, under which the world groans, have been thrown off, and the mass of mankind have arrived at the highest state of felicity possible to mortals. In this great field of exertion, the means, which have hitherto been sufficient to advance the partially civilized man somewhat, will be totally inadequate to carry us onward; and as every epoch has its institutions, which grow out of the wants and the habits of thought of the time, and which are overthrown and never erected again, after they have executed their commission to advance the race a little, so we may imagine that the higher arts, having executed theirs, must permanently give place to more efficient agents, better suited to a new period. These, it is true, may seem but sombre and gloomy forebodings; yet they are not really so. For, if the world advances, with steady steps, to higher degrees of spiritual and intellectual attainments, what matter by what means? No man will mourn, unless he is governed by the lowest of all considerations, that the arts arise solely for the gratification of the few.

But the arts will not become extinct. As the race advances, its taste will become more refined, and must be gratified. It will need great edifices, not as a means of embodying the con-

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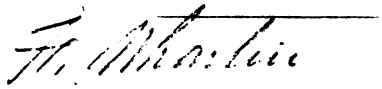
ceptions of the imagination, but for their utility; and these will be erected in the spirit of refinement. It will still love to keep alive the memory of great and good men in monuments of marble; it will still love to copy the face of nature, although it will no longer seek to shadow forth its highest conceptions in outward forms, and the province of art will be limited to the human and the natural.

J. Q. D.



ART. III. — *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury.* Edited by Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart. 5 vols. London: John Bohn. 1839–40.

IT is now for the first time, that the writings of Thomas Hobbes have been gathered together. They formed a part of the swarm of political speculations, that were called forth in the unsettled times of the Protectorate; and in the general apathy that succeeded the retoration of Charles II., they were huddled into the grave, where their contemporaries were buried. We know not what future treasures may be dragged from the mass that is there concealed. It was only a few years ago, that a lost treatise of Milton was brought to light by the accidental discovery of a king's librarian; and by a series of more searching inquiries, the remains of that great literature may be dragged forth limb by limb, till it be completely restored to the mighty niche which the chasm of the times has left for it. We cannot believe, that in the interval of civil war, all thought was deadened. In a time when the most trifling mind must have dropped its baubles in the contemplation of the solemn subjects before it, those great spirits, who ushered in and brooded over the revolution, must have been awake to the demands of the cause in which they were embarked. The principles on which they acted required promulgation. They had raised no party clamor, like that which opened the French Revolution; they relied on no popular watchword for success; they had been for a century the despised and the persecuted among their countrymen, and it was only by the justification of the startling tenets which they advanced, that they could hope that the seed which they spread

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would be fruitful. There may have been grotesque names attached to the earlier essays of the parliament's supporters, and their style may have been unnecessarily uncouth; but the nervousness with which they handled their sword, was fitted to the difficulties it was to conquer. It was a war of thought from the commencement; a war which was begun by the foolish exposition of James the First, of his divine right, and which was followed by its extraordinary refutation by Milton. It was a war of thought to the end; and the royal sufferer, who was called on to put a stop to the usurpations of his race by his own sacrifice, finished his career by that memorable disquisition on kingly authority, which showed, be it authentic or not, that his principles were as dangerous to the state, as had been maintained by his fiercest adversaries. We look in vain at the light epigrams and the profane odes, at the courtly sermons and the heavy epics of the restoration, for symptoms of the spirit which had left such mighty traces of its working. That splendid argument, which had been erected by Chillingworth in defence of the Protestant Establishment, was not likely to be imitated by the bishops who followed him, when they found that the Protestant king was himself very much inclined towards the errors of papacy. John Baxter was openly prosecuted for blasphemy, and Barrow's sermons were passed by as trifles, since they afforded food neither to the lover of prelacy, nor the lover of punning.

Thomas Hobbes was born in 1588; but it was not until the close of the reign of Charles the First, that he became distinguished as a writer. There was something wrong in the construction of the government; and in the interval which succeeded between the first civil difficulties, and the king's execution, the ingenious theorists of the day had ample time for speculation as to the cause of the present disarrangement, and for plans as to its immediate remedy. That there was a defect in the old economy, that the king had too much authority for the safety of the commonwealth, too little for his own; that the whole system was jarring, and required remodelling, was admitted on all sides. There were very few, who were prepared to take the stand, that the royal supremacy should be strengthened, and that the measures, which had been pursued of late by the Court for the humiliation of the Commons, should be carried to their consummation. Mr. Hyde, who afterwards became the strongest, and most honorable pillar of the fallen dynasty, stood firmly with the parliament in its first troubles; and with Lord Falkland, rallied

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and held together that little band, who consulted at the same time the liberties of the commonwealth, and the honor of their king. But the desperate ambition of Charles allowed no half-service. He threw himself into the thick of the fray, and when it became a matter of life and death between him and his enemies, he called upon the friends of monarchy and of the Church to rally around him as the citadel of their safety. There was a wisdom in the course, which corresponded with the consummate discretion which he had before shown in the pursuit of his arbitrary measures; for had he not raised the question of personal safety, had he not changed the issue from reform to revolution, he would have been obliged to concede with the awkwardness of unsympathized necessity the jewels of the prerogative, which he afterwards showed could only be wrested from him by the executioner. Mr. Hobbes was connected with the royalists by blood and by interest; and, though he found that the might of the nation was raised against him, so that he was obliged to lose the benefit both of country and of property if he adhered to his ancient predilections, he followed the court into exile, and there first published the work, with which his name has been most connected.

When we look over the Leviathan at the present day, we are at a loss to conceive the reasons why it should have been so solemnly censured by the royalists themselves, and so warmly espoused by their antagonists. It was written by a banished adherent of the fallen cause, and it was written with a good faith and ability, which were then most needed. That it served its purpose is undoubted; for it was spread by the emissaries of the exiled family throughout the kingdom, and left behind it invariably the marks of its progress; and yet, before Charles the Second was warm in his father's seat, the parliament deliberately voted the work itself to be tinged with heresy, and its influence to be of a dangerous and doubtful complexion. The philosophers of the day, with characteristic consistency, seized upon it as giving, from the very fact of its condemnation, the most suitable exposition of their tenets, and Mr. Hobbes found himself in a little while in the singular position of being supported, on the one hand, by those whom he had spent his energies in attacking, and of being attacked by those, to whom he had been constantly allied. We have heard, that when Lord Kenyon summed up the offences of a printer, who was indicted before him of seditious and irreligious publications, he concluded the cata-

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logue of confessors and martyrs, whom he maintained had been traduced by the culprit before him, with that of Julian, who, from his peculiar sanctity, had been called the *apostle.* We fancy that the apostate Emperor would hardly have been more surprised at his posthumous canonization, than was Mr. Hobbes at the distinctions, to which he was hoisted. He found himself, after a lifetime spent in the assiduous cultivation of the old establishments of Great Britain, suddenly saluted with the title of radical reformer, and crowned and chaired by the mob as the most liberal philosopher of the many, who were then shaking by their sneers not only established government, but individual faith. Sir William Molesworth has credited to him the last tribute that was wanting to complete his honors, and has ushered him into the world in a fresh covering, christened with an attractive title, and dedicated with particular complaisance to his fellow-radical, Mr. Grote.

It is our object at present merely to glance at some of the doctrines which are developed in the Leviathan. They are curious, as affording a complete view of the evidences on which an absolute monarchy may be supported, and they are important, as giving an illustration of the views of those, who now usher them to the public with so much pomp. We do not, of course, assert that the leaders of the radical party are responsible for the sentiments of the treatise which they have just brought forward. However they may adopt a few of its positions, they must certainly be very far from maintaining the conclusions, which are drawn from them. Their object is the liberalization of the government under which they live, but we must remember that, holy as may be their enterprise, they may, from desperation or from insincerity, bring into its ranks alliances, which may be more plausible than advantageous.

The great object of speculation, at the time when the Leviathan was written, was the formation of a commonwealth, which should answer those ends, which the previous government had failed to meet. The country had been flooded with tracts, which told, in notes of different tone perhaps, but of the same import, that the only just basis, on which a government could be erected, was the consent of the people; and that, consequently, the only method of correcting the vices of the present establishment, would be by the application of a more popular remedy than that which the king's mercy afforded. It was for the purpose of the establishment of a contrary position, that Mr-

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Hobbes first appeared before the public. His treatise "de cive," which was afterwards swollen into the Leviathan, set forth with the avowed object of maintaining the natural and divine right of the established institutions of society. They were based upon a compact between people and sovereign, which could never be revoked; they were sanctioned by divine consent, and it became, therefore, the part of a Christian subject, to resign his civil and religious liberty into the hands of the authority, which his ancestors, by a distant exercise of an exaggerated power, had unguardedly created. Social harmony, it was argued, is necessary to the happiness of mankind; but in the state of war and rapine, in which we are by nature thrown, it requires the exercise of a complete and omnipotent authority to restrain the spirit of discord, and to establish in its place the peace and quiet, which are essential to the welfare of the community.

The whole stress of the position must lie in the assumption, that war is the attitude into which we are by nature cast. For if it be conceded that the dispositions of mankind undeniably are so desperately and consummately wicked, that they are unable to live together without absolute hostility, it will easily follow, that it will be for the advantage of the community, that they should be forcibly restrained from obtaining access to each other for the consummation of their belligerent designs. Some difficulty might, indeed, occur in the selection of a suitable person to act as keeper and overseer, from a body whose dispositions are by assumption equally depraved; but, since the mischief, which any single individual, though the worst among them, could occasion, would be much less serious than that which would be achieved by their united energies, it would be better to crown even such a one with absolute supremacy, rather than let loose without restraint the warring elements around him.

In the summing up, which takes place at the commencement of the thirteenth section of the first book, the assumption is laid down in its full force.

"So that, in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; second, diffidence; thirdly, glory.

"The first maketh men invade for gain; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. The first use violence, to make themselves masters of other men's persons, wives, chil-

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dren, and cattle; the second, to defend them; the third for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of undervalue, either direct on their person, or by reflection on their kindred, their friends, their profession, or their name.

"Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition, which is called war; and such a war as is of every man against every man. For war consisteth not in battle only, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known; and therefore the notion of *time*, is to be considered in the nature of war, as it is in the nature of weather. For as the nature of foul weather lieth not in a shower or two of rain; but in an inclination thereto of many days together; so the nature of man consisteth not in actual fighting; but in the known disposition thereto, during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary." — Vol. III. p. 112.

We think, that the instance that has been given in our own land of a peaceable community without an oppressive government is sufficient to disprove the hypothesis, that the state of war is so natural to us collectively, that it requires the pressure of external force to restrain it. That little emulation, which places its title to power on the suppression of its neighbor's efforts, is the characteristic of a weak and uncultivated soil. Even if the natural love for social life, which, after all, is the strongest in the bosom, were totally eradicated, if the selfish passions were left to themselves, we think that it would require but a little self-knowledge to show, that murder and rapine would not be the most successful way to bring about self-aggrandizement.

If it be assumed, that the passions of men are so discordant, and their interests so diverging, that they cannot live in peace without being frightened into tameness, we shall have but little difficulty in chiming in with the conclusions of the Leviathan, that an absolute monarchy is the only system that can be effectual. We place the reasoning in the forcible light in which it is there presented;

"For the laws of nature, as *justice*, *equity*, *modesty*, *mercy*, and, in sum, *doing to others*, *as we would be done to*, of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. The only way to erect such a common power, as may be

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able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly, is, to confer *all their strength* upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, *unto one will;* which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own and acknowledge himself to be the author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person, shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills every one to his will, and their judgments to his judgment. This done, the multitude so united in one person, is called a commonwealth, in Latin, Civitas. This is the generation of that great Leviathan, or rather, to speak more reverently, of that *mortal god*, to whom we owe, under the *immortal God*, our peace and our defence. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which, to define it, is one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants with one another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence." — Vol. III. pp. 153, 157, 158.

We do not suppose it was for the promulgation of a doctrine so disagreeable to the English reformers as that of the divinity of kings, that the Leviathan was dragged from its retirement. We should have very much wondered, if even the University of Oxford had taken upon itself the honors of introducing into the world for the second time a heresy so exploded, notwithstanding that its error consisted in an exaggeration, and not a depreciation, of the rights of government. We would take the liberty also to inquire, whether some of the objectionable passages, which were censured both by parliament and the priesthood as too highly seasoned even for the hardened taste of the king-loving generation to whom they were offered, are not those, which, with a little oiling, and a little fantastic decoration, are dished up to suit the rebellious palate of some of the more ardent of our contemporaries. When Mr. Hobbes argued, very justly, that by an equal division of property, such dissensions would be produced, as would render it necessary to establish a severe and unlimited authority to suppress them, and consequently thought, that an equal division of property, however disastrous might be its immediate effect, would be very desirable in its remote results; he little supposed, that in one branch

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of his argument, at least, he was affording food for the digestion of those, who, in a future day, would rush into a conclusion, which was as wild and extreme as his own. When he proposed, that on the death of each individual, the estate, which he had hoarded up as a future support for his children or his wife, should be snatched from his grasp at the moment that he was too weak to hold it, and cast headlong into the governmental reservoir, whence it was to be dropped out, in equal portions, to both full and empty, or, perhaps, to be swallowed in a gulp by those whose personal strength gave them an advantage in the scramble; he could scarcely have imagined, that a system, which he supposed so likely to generate the despotism which he particularly admired, should be hit upon by his more philosophical successors, as affording the best means for the security of equal rights. We can look back to a period, — the period, in which was sketched the outline of that common law, which finds so little favor in the eyes of the more enterprising among us, — when it was the favorite object of the government to obtain that control over the property of the state, which we would now so readily yield up. It was not until after a century of struggles, that the rights of descent, and of the disposition of property after death, were wrung from the rapacious hands of the supreme authority. If we understand the theory, which has been lately mooted among us, a theory, which, though plumed and spangled with the gew-gaws of innovation, and trumpeted forth as the latest triumph of intellect and freedom, can be shown to have been borrowed from the barbarous economy of the dark ages; the plans, which it proposes, are such as would, on their first operation, abolish the conveyance of property by deed or will, and its transmission according to the channel of the common law, when its owner dies intestate. We are not forced, in this instance, to speculate on what might be the probable influence of a plan, which is new and unprecedented in the history of mankind. The innovators of our own day, with a laudable prudence, have been unwilling to hazard the uncertainty, which must attend the application of remedies, whose qualities have been as yet untried; and they have accordingly extracted from the receipt book of the feudal system, a nostrum, whose ingredients have been well tried, and have been entirely successful. Like the more popular physicians of our own times, whose names figure on the street corners, or in the newspapers, they are able to append to their specifics cer-

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tificates of the most extensive and most satisfactory nature. We only wonder that they have been deterred from exhibiting the recommendations of their plan, which are so liberally given in the work before us. Suppose, for once, that the laws for the conveyance of property were thrown aside, should we not relapse into the state in which we were thrown before they were enacted? When the wealth of the nation is thrown into a common mass for the alleged benefit of the whole community, there could only be two ways, in which it could again be brought into circulation; first, by allowing each competitor to seize what he could reach; secondly, by the establishment of a supreme authority, in whose hands could be vested the distribution of the common fund. The last expedient would create a despotism at once; the former, after a series of those fearful convulsions, which a state of such contention would produce, would lead to the same result, as a relief from evils yet worse. We quote, from the Leviathan, the scheme which seemed most plausible to the banished court of Charles the Second.

"In this distribution, (of the common property of the state,) the first law is for division of the land itself; wherein the sovereign assigneth to every man a portion, according as he, or any number of them, shall judge according to equity, and the common good. The children of Israel were a commonwealth in the wilderness; but wanted the commodities of the earth, till they were masters of the land of promise; which afterwards was divided amongst them, not by their own discretion, but by the discretion of Eleazar the priest and Joshua their general. From whence we may collect, that the propriety, which a subject hath in his lands, consisteth in a right to exclude all other subjects from the use of them; and not to exclude their sovereign, be it a subject, or a monarch. It is true, that a sovereign monarch, or the greater part of a sovereign assembly, may ordain the doing of many things in pursuit of their own passions, contrary to their own consciences, which is a breach of trust, and of the law of nature; *but this is not enough to authorize any subject, either to make war upon, or so much as to accuse of injustice, or any way speak evil of their sovereign; because they have authorized all his actions, and in bestowing the sovereign power, made them their own.*" — Vol. III. p. 235.

A single error in a train of reasoning, is able by a transition, as sudden as that which takes place on the confines of a dream,

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to vitiate the whole texture of the argument, and to transfer its conclusions, with magical swiftness, from the regions of reality, to those of fiction. Make a man a lunatic, and in justice to your own position, you should recommend him to a hospital. If, through an exaggerated vision, you distort what may have only been an error of judgment on his part, into a dereliction of intellect, you can justify yourself in applying a strait jacket. Or if by a mistake a little less culpable, you fancy that all around you are wild beasts in feeling, and temper, and in all except shape; that you yourself are endowed with the same disposition, and that all that is wanting to reduce you to the level of a quadruped is to change your arms into legs; you will be obliged, in consistency with your own conclusions, to erect around you a vast menagerie, in which you, the only animal of the whole, who has the discernment to perceive his true condition, will act as keeper in general. Delusions such as these must follow necessarily from an assumption so wild as that, with which the Leviathan sets out, and they are sufficiently absurd, to save us from the trouble of their farther consideration. There are none, among the many who have swallowed the conclusions which have been drawn from them, who would acknowledge the strength of the premises themselves. They revel in the luxury of the stolen goods, excusing themselves from all participation in the theft that produced them; and, while they unite in taking shelter in the system of religious and civil superstition that has been thus erected, they are careful to exonerate themselves from all the odium, which may have attended the laying of its foundation. And yet, are not the cumbrous monarchies, and the splendid hierarchies of the old world, built upon the supposition of the absolute degradation, if not the innate ferocity of the human species? Does not the Catholic Church found its claim to blinding its children, on the ground that their attention would be so much distracted by their seeing for themselves, it is better that they should not see at all, rather than they should fall into so great a disaster? We would ask, that while the barbarous creed of man's moral degradation is now exploded, its mistaken consequences should be withdrawn. We must remember the high calling of those around us; and, whether it be our part to act or to suffer, keep it in mind, that in all our action, as in all our endurance, we are set together with beings, who are living for another world, and should be living so that they can win it; who may have been dulled by ill treat-

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ment, or led astray by false doctrine, but who have still in their hearts that sleepless monitor, that God has given to us all, and who still are travelling forward under the guidance of his warning cloud, or his fiery pillar. When we look upon them as fellow travellers in a short pilgrimage, can we be justified in cramping them by the severe restrictions, which might chain them to our own unessential ceremonies, or drive them from their own? God deals with every man to his own conscience, and who, then, can interfere by thrusting the medium of his own dusky conceits, in the rays of that high communion? The ancient Christian stood upon the frozen pavement of the Cathedral, and as he looked up to catch the eye of heaven, his light was cut off by the images of gaudy saints and masquerading martyrs, who were stained on the glass before him; or as he listened to drink in the voice of prayer, his ear was numbed by the muffled chanting of a foreign language. We thank God, that in furtherance of that great Providence, under which we move, He has lifted up the veil that obscured His face, and brought us into His presence. We stand now before Him, in the full perception of His laws, and the clear conviction of our duty, and it is our part to obey them individually, collectively to proclaim them. Does not such an attitude do away with the necessity for those restraints, which a state of barbarity would require? The most complete system of tyranny ever contrived, assisted, as it might be, by an omnipresent police, and an unerring judiciary, could never, even by hanging up one half of its subjects for the sake of examples to the other, create a fraction of that quiet and sincere well-doing, which the unassisted influence of God's word, and of God's monitor can produce.

We think, that if Mr. Hobbes had reasoned more naturally, he would have been the most profound, as he is still the most original, of English casuists. He came on the stage at a time, when, through the spirit of civil liberty abroad, the discovery of the American continent, and the flood of literature which was then first thrown out by the printing press, a fresh start was given to thought. He played his part in the midst of a revolution, when every mind was wrought up to its highest tension, and when he himself, an exile, and exiled from a land of plenty, was brought to write, not only for his satisfaction, but for his support. He lived also at a time when the star-chamber was abolished, and the Lord Chamberlain had ceased to flutter;

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when orthodoxy itself had become heterodox, and when the schools of the old philosophy had been broken up, without leaving under their ashes the foundations for another dynasty. Those great philosophical treatises of Lord Bacon, which afterwards paved the way for a better system, had scarcely been published; and, even if they had been extensively circulated, it is doubtful whether they would have assumed at once the position which they have since so tardily taken. There were too many doubts as to the profoundness of the Lord Chancellor's wisdom, among those who had known him during the humiliating close of his career, to enable them intuitively to understand what may, perhaps, be called the most complex character in history. The courtiers remembered Bacon in his obsequious flattery of Buckingham, or his mean worship of the Queen; they thought of him in his early arrogance, and his consequent degradation; and could scarcely believe, that the minister who could be bent, and the judge who could be bribed, could subside when the storm was over, into the collected and lofty moralist. We wish that we could wall up the corruption and meanness of Bacon, in the cell where moulder the follies of less noted men. Had he been Lord Chancellor alone, his errors might have been buried, like those of Macclesfield, in the black letter of Chancery records. Had he been a courtier merely, his frailties would have been washed away with the sand, on which his epitaph was written. But he arose so far beyond the common mark of courtiers and lawyers, he stood so loftily above the ordinary atmosphere of the day, that, like the pillars of Hercules, he was a beacon, by which both sea-bound and home-bound shaped their course. His errors bore an exaggerated influence on his own times, and even at this day, when they would be otherwise forgotten in their distance, they are forced on our view by the extraordinary brilliancy which surrounds them. But we would look beyond the unworthy ambition of his boyhood, and the unmanly squabbles of his riper days, we would forget his subservience to the queen, his obsequiousness to Buckingham, and even his desertion of Raleigh, and his treachery to Essex, when we look at those mighty memorials of genius, which at the close of his life he erected; not as a lifetime's undertaking, not as a mausoleum, like the pyramids of the Pharaohs, where he could lay to rest his buffeted reputation; but as the pastime of a winter's day, in which he could gently exercise his wearied faculties, till they fell gradually into the sleep, that was creeping

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over them. The philosophical works of Hobbes were the labor of year after year; the familiar lesson of spring, of summer, and of autumn; those of Bacon, the last efforts of a life, which was already in the sere and yellow leaf. It is here that we may look for the material distinction between the ethics of Hobbes and of Bacon. The first wrote as a business, and considered himself as professionally bound to extend, to the utmost limits of logical decorum, the propositions which he set about to enforce. He described a straight line as the nearest way between his premises and the point to which he intended to arrive, and he pursued it rigorously, without turning aside to correct his reckoning, if he should happen to be wrong, or to illustrate his positions if they chanced to be correct. He attempted to introduce into his reasoning the compression and infallibility of geometrical demonstration; but, as the words which he was obliged to use could not be brought to assume the *unity* and the positiveness of formula, he was often led, both from their ambiguity, and his own errors of calculation, into the most ludicrous evolutions. Such was far from being the case with Bacon. His extraordinary acquaintance with Natural Philosophy, enabled him to bring to his assistance the illustrations with which that great science abounds, while he was too well acquainted with the nature of logic, and the capacity of language, to endeavor to stretch out his deductions on the rack of an algebraic formula. If he was wrong in an hypothesis, as he often was, he would correct himself before his error was material. He carried so much ballast, that it was very easy for him to right himself. Like those great astronomers, who followed soon after him, he threw aside the prejudices with which the atmosphere was clouded, and discovered those great natural truths, to which his eye was turned, in their simplicity and their strength.

We do not mean to make use of the great name of Bacon, to throw into shade the more questionable reputation of Hobbes. They may stand by themselves, and, according to the fruits which they have severally produced, be condemned or acquitted. But we cannot conclude this notice, without remarking more strongly, than we have yet had the opportunity to do, on the injury which has resulted from the religious teaching of the utilitarian philosopher. Mr. Hobbes was a skeptic of the philanthropic cast, if such a contradiction can exist; and while he thought he saw through the deception, which priestcraft had palmed on

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the world, he stood aloof from an inquiry into its foundation, and contented himself with looking down upon it with the superior air of a man, who feels he has the power of castigation in his hands, and yet is unwilling to let loose his thunders, lest they should blast more than they could purify. He passed triflingly over the highest evidences, on which Christianity can rest, and based its claim to our faith on its positive harmlessness, or its comparative good. But with what qualifications did he acknowledge and receive its beauties? Was it because it had lifted the poor from their degradation, and placed both poor and rich in the light, in which they had never before been placed, of brethren and equals? Was it because it superseded the tyrant-feeding superstition of the old mythology? He could see in the spirit of Christianity nothing worthy of admiration, but its humility, and with that calculating coldness which signalized his style, estimated the amount of good which it is capable of producing, as being precisely in proportion to its subservience to the government of the day. Advocating it, therefore, only so long as it worked well, he withheld from it all those superior claims to our allegiance, which belong to a heaven-sent dispensation. He took it as the superstition of the day, and he acquiesced in it as long as it remained so. His feelings toward it were very much of the same description as those we can imagine in a speculative Brahmin, who looks on with a smile of condescension, at the gyrations and grimaces of the priests of his faith, and yet is unwilling to disturb their equanimity by a display of its fallacy. His Christian regimentals, he would quietly have worn as long as he remained in a Christian army; but as soon as he crossed the boundary, he would have tossed them off, and twisted around him the turban of the Mussulman, or the shawl of the Chinese. He saw, in a word, nothing in Christianity but its earthliness; he denied its inspiration; he slighted its miracles; and its divine origin, he acknowledged very much in the same way as he acknowledged that the Deity was the ultimate cause of evil as well as good. We shall not stop to consider what must be the consequences of resting on so narrow a foundation, the evidences both of natural and revealed religion. The man who denies the miracles, on which Christianity is based, to form credentials through which Christianity can be received, is apt, in justice to his own assumption, to end in denying either its inspiration, or its authority. Mr. Hobbes was unable to see in those great achievements either of prophecy or of miracle,

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which, if afforded for any purpose whatever, — and in so solemn a dispensation nothing can be without its object, — were afforded for the purpose of forming a rational basis, on which our faith could rest, he was unable to see, in such great manifestations of divine power, anything more than the imaginations of impassioned intellect, or the operation of unusual strength. Denying thus the sufficiency of either miracles or prophecy to give the credit of Divine authority to the Christian religion, he rested its credibility on grounds, which, did we suppose him in earnest at the time he proposed them, might seem derogatory either to the strength of his judgment, or the clearness of his mind. If Christianity must be considered the true religion, only because it is the established faith, has not Paganism, or Foism, equal claims to reception? We must solemnly protest against the fashion, which even now continues, of basing our religious faith on the shifting foundations of temporal convenience, or temporal success. We have a better reason for the belief that is in us, than that it chimes in at one time with the divine right of kings, or at another, with the insulted privileges of the people. We are willing to submit it to the tests of the results, but it must be to its ultimate influence that we would look, and not to its momentary consequences. When we consider, that our task on this earth is one of probation, and not of perfection; that we are on our trial for another state, to which we can only be admitted on the exhibition of the credentials of our good behavior in this; that through the dulness of tradition, or the feebleness of reason, we have lost sight of those great land-marks, which could otherwise have guided us in our pilgrimage; and when we remember, also, that God, in furtherance of his great design, had determined to restore to us the means of estimating our condition, and of improving our prospects; can we conceive of any method more appropriate for the enunciation of his intention, than that which is afforded by an interruption, or a reversal, of those great natural laws, over which he alone has control?

There would be no necessity for a revelation, if we are able to achieve the objects it recommends by our unassisted reason, and the fact of a revelation itself exhibits the inadequacy of our natural ability fully to comprehend those subjects, which it is its province to explain. But if such a disability exists, can we expect to be able to look forward so clearly as to judge of the remotest bearing of Christianity, as well as of its internal

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character, that we can decide upon its merits without reference to the credentials which it professedly advances? Are not miracles themselves necessary to give a crowning evidence of the authenticity of a dispensation, into the dusky borders of whose extended influence our eyesight is too feeble to pierce? Our vision is too limited, and our judgment too weak to enable us to decide intuitively of the absolute merit of a system so extended, from its consequences alone, and our chief resource must be the examination of the historical evidences which it affords. We can imagine a man, who, grown giddy with wisdom, can look forward a great distance in the channel, through which the gospel may run, and see it distributing blessings wherever it moves; so that, in the contemplation of the prospect before him, he may be led to magnify the evidences which it affords of the truth of the system it illustrates, and to underrate those miraculous demonstrations, by which it was first accompanied. But, had it not been for miracles, Christianity would never have spread; were it not for the report of them, it would still be but feebly spreading. We depend on them, as the principal anchor of our faith. There may be some, who, like Christian and Faithful, may be cheered on when in the valley of shadows by the distant prospect of the glories of the delectable island; but to those whose sight is more dim, and whose step less steady, we believe that the solid consolation, which by the more substantial evidences is afforded, forms the staff on which they can most courageously rely, both against the terrors of Giant Slay-All, and the seductions of Vanity Fair.

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ART. III. — *On the Relations between the Holy Scriptures, and some parts of Geological Science.* By JOHN PYE SMITH, D. D., F. G. S., Divinity Tutor in the Protestant Dissenting College at Homerton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1840. pp. 364. 12mo.

THE apparent opposition of geological deductions to the account given in Genesis, concerning the creation, has caused the religious world to look upon this science as a "dark art." And

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it is not wonderful, that a strong prejudice should have arisen against it in the minds of believers, when we remember that it disclosed phenomena which appeared utterly irreconcilable with the Mosaic cosmogony, as they understood it. And in addition to this, it is also to be borne in mind, that unbelievers applied the facts disclosed to the subversion of the Divine authority of Moses. The religious community were startled as much, therefore, at the disclosures which geology made, as they would have been had one of the monsters, whose image is impressed upon the everlasting rock, swept through the air before their eyes. We ought not to be surprised that it was so. It is always thus at the disclosure of any scientific truth, which demands a new interpretation of Scripture. It is by no means clear, that we are not as much attached to our opinions as our fathers were to theirs. While, therefore, we smile at the horror which seized upon many minds at the revelations, which were made respecting the formation of the world by the investigations of geologists, let us see to it that we are less bound by prejudice, and less exposed to raise the cry of infidelity against those, who now appear to us, through our ignorance of the subject, to be prostrating all the authority of revelation, by still further researches in Natural Science.

The contents of the volume before us consist of eight lectures, delivered before the "Congregational Library." This "Library" was established with a view to the promotion of ecclesiastical, theological, and biblical literature, in that religious connexion, with whose friends and supporters it originated. A series of lectures is delivered annually, in connexion with the Library, and Dr. Smith's appears to be the "sixth series." We must confess our ignorance of the former "series;" both of the lectures and subjects, and for our present purpose it is of but little consequence for us to know them.

The "sixth series," the one we have under consideration, was delivered by John Pye Smith, of Homerton College. He selected the subject of the connexion of "Scripture and Geology," and has treated it with commendable candor. Indeed, how a man could be otherwise than candid, when he had before him such choice specimens of narrowness, and bigotry, and total ignorance of geology, cannot easily be conceived. This series consists of eight lectures, two of which are divided into three parts, and an appendix of sixty pages, fine print. This contains more full discussions of some topics, which are barely

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hinted at in the lectures, and could not well be discussed before a popular audience. They consist of separate papers, written at different times, and hence contain much repetition, and not a little that is entirely irrelevant to the subject-matter under consideration. All the notes might have been compressed, and half of them omitted, without harm. We are not disposed to carp at the occasional prolixity of the lectures, for they were delivered before popular audiences, and we have the authority of Burke for so expanding a topic, and lingering round it, that it may produce an impression upon the mind. We think the lectures must have been listened to with attention, as they now afford pleasure, notwithstanding their prolixity, in the perusal.

We have already intimated that geologists are not spoken of in the kindest terms by their opponents. It is not to be expected, that a member of the Geological Society should pass such language by unnoticed. He complains grievously of the uncharitableness of the opponents of geology, and intimates more than once, in the course of his lectures, that if they knew more about it, they would be more candid in their judgments, and more correct in their statements. He gives us a few specimens of anti-geological rant, which would be really amusing, did we not often hear the same kind of language from other quarters, and on other topics connected with religion, too frequently to render them ridiculous. We will give a specimen, however, as it is choice, and has been gathered with no small care from a work entitled "Popular Geology subversive of Divine Revelation," by Rev. Henry Cole. The writer is contending against that interpretation which fixes "the beginning" long antecedent to the six days spoken of in Genesis. "This 'first day' is *the beginning*. [This is] the self-evident definition of the beginning which God himself has given. And we here defy all the combined ability of infidelity, philosophy, and geology, to prove the 'beginning' to have been anterior to the first day God here intends. No geologist, who may read these pages, will henceforth remain ignorant of his war against Omnipotence and Everlasting Truth. And we again sacredly defy all the combined ability of sophistical geologians, to the end of time, to prove either our Scriptural positions false, or their geological positions true. We have insubvertibly established it from the lips of Eternal Veracity, that neither the earth, nor the material of which it was formed, nor any creature that is found therein, had existence before the 'first day'

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of the revealed creation; that truth we have undeniably and everlastingly established, insubvertible and immovable by human ability. Certainly, of all the lately discovered or extended sciences, which the enemy of God and man has thus pushed to his destroying ends, no one has been found so appropriate to his purposes, nor has been so insidiously and industriously driven forward to the accomplishment of his aims, as the popular 'new science' of geology. To enumerate all the infernal artillery, which the subtle enemy of God and man has put into the hands of his vassals to aim at this everlasting monument of revealed truth, would require his own unspent breath and unwearied tongue. Suffice it to say, that sophisticating geologians have been allured, by his implacable subtleties, to enlist themselves in the service of his infernal policy." We will pause here, for we think we have given our readers a sufficient morsel of this choice language. Dr. Smith undoubtedly thought this was unkind, and he utters his "solemn protest against the *assumption*, which runs through the whole book." He had not been accustomed to hear such language used respecting himself, because he and his friends chose to interpret Scripture differently from others. We cannot but hope, that the position in which the Doctor finds himself, will lead him to observe the equal impropriety of speaking in such language concerning any body of men, or individuals.

To answer the "impassioned author" of the above remarks, the Dr. is led to lay down some very correct principles, respecting the difference between Scripture, and interpretations of Scripture. "The impassioned author," says he, "*ought not* to put his own interpretations, supported though they be by the expositions of eminent scholars and divines, upon a level with the express declarations of Scripture itself. That he believes his interpretations to be just, cannot be doubted; but he ought not to affirm, in so high and peremptory a tone, that they are infallible, and incapable of being subverted." This is all true, very true. And yet, are we not every day seeing men set up their interpretations as infallible, and deny the name of Christian to those who will not accept their interpretations as of equal authority with the Scripture? And is not Dr. Smith himself of the number, who do this? We are not very conversant with his writings, but he is attached to a body of Christians, who are daily doing the very thing, against which he "solemnly protests." Putting "interpretations upon a level with the ex-

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press declarations of Scripture itself" is the very foundation of the Exclusive system. Dr. Smith protests, with all his soul, against the charge of want of respect and reverence for the Holy Book. He utters a dignified rebuke against those "who bury the Christian dispositions of humility and meekness under their imperious dogmatism and assumed infallibility;" and so have we ever done. We respect revelation, we will not say more, but we will venture to affirm no less, than those who sometimes charge us with disaffection towards it.

This controversy, respecting the infallibility of human interpretations, leads to some liberal and just views of responsibility for opinions. They are worthy of their author; and how he can make such declarations, and yet act in harmony with those, whose avowed principle of action, and whose conduct under that principle, are both directly opposed to his sentiments, we cannot understand, unless he has a mental reservation in regard to all, who do not interpret as he does. "If we have done our best," says he, in reference to the formation of our opinions, "and fail, we have not forfeited moral truth; we are sincere, though mistaken; but, if we have not done our best, we cannot be blameless." If the Christian world would remember this, how little need of backbiting, exclusion, and all uncharitableness. We profess to have "done our best" in seeking for religious truth; why, then, not admit, that we are blameless? Why hold us up as objects of suspicion, and shut us out from Christian fellowship, as enemies of revelation, or in the beautiful language which Rev. Mr. Cole has applied to geologists, "vassals of the enemy of God and man?" These things cannot long continue, when they, who are leaders of those who do such things, lay down principles of action and judgment, which are directly opposed to them. We most heartily thank Dr. Smith for the avowal of those sentiments, and our constant prayer shall be, that he may have life and strength to propagate them amongst his brethren.

We cannot say as much, however, in reference to a principle of interpretation expressly stated in one place in these lectures; yet, everywhere violated, when applied in practice. In Dr. Smith, as in many other great men, extremes seem to meet. "Interpretation, as well of the Bible as of other ancient writings, is to be conducted by a rigorous process of examination into words and phrases, a process solely grammatical, and which must not be checked or turned out of its straight-forward

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course, by any foreign considerations." We do not suppose, that the writer here intended to be obscure, and thus have a "loop hole" for escape from the obvious meaning of the sentence. For we believe, as much as he, that *if* such is the way to interpret other writings, it is the way to interpret the Bible. But we believe no such thing, and the Doctor does not practise any such thing. He *is* influenced by "foreign considerations" when he interprets. He decides that there is an indefinite period to be understood between the first and second verses of the first chapter of Genesis; and why? Because geology demands it; not because a "process solely grammatical," not "checked by any foreign considerations," demands it. The language permits, but does not demand any such construction; and it would not be thus construed, were it not for "foreign considerations." The same may be said of the manner, in which the author so interprets the history of the flood as to make it local, confined to the western part of Asia, and so explains the passages relating to the number of animals taken into the ark, as to have them declared, that only a few domestic animals were accommodated in it; and all because "foreign considerations" demanded such an interpretation of it. The ark was not large enough to hold all the living things upon the earth, and he takes the liberty of so interpreting the account of their reception into the ark, as to include only as many as could be accommodated. He does not suppose they were miraculously diminished in size, that they might be all received into the ark, or miraculously fed while in it. This we conceive to be one of the false principles that is laid down in these lectures, which, for the most part, abound in generous sentiments, and are rich in broad and liberal views of truth, and the means of attaining it.

But what is there in geology so opposed to the present interpretations of Scripture, as to call forth denunciations from Mr. Cole, whom we have quoted, Mellor Brown, Granville Penn, and a crowd of similar critics and theologians, and which tempted even Professor Stuart to try his lance in a tilt with Professor Hitchcock? What are the apparent discrepancies between the history of the world, as recorded by God in the everlasting rock, and as written by his servant Moses in the book of Genesis? We say, apparent discrepancies. It is not yet time to assume, that there are any real ones. Perhaps we have not ascertained the true intention of the record, and we are by no means

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sure, that the disclosures of geology will not lead to a new train of investigation, in reference to the design of Moses in recording an account of the creation. It will not do to assume, that geology contradicts Scripture, as long as the Scripture language will admit an interpretation, which satisfies the demands of scientific facts. We proceed, therefore, to state what the apparent discrepancies are between geological phenomena and Mosaic history, and the different interpretations which have been given of the history to harmonize it with the phenomena that geology has disclosed. We propose that our remarks shall have rather a historical than a speculative character, that our readers may be put in possession of the facts as they now stand in reference to this whole subject.

It is a prevailing opinion, that the material of which the earth is formed was created immediately before, or on the first day, whose work is mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis. And this, we think, would be the result, at which most would arrive upon a perusal of this chapter. It is supposed, that about six thousand years ago the earth was called into existence. The same conclusion is also drawn from the language of the fourth commandment; "In six days the Lord made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that in them is." It is taken for granted, that the "days" mentioned were days of twenty-four hours each, though on the common hypothesis there was no sun to measure them until the fourth day. It is also assumed, that no internal or superficial changes might have taken place between the creation of the material, which composed the earth, and the formation of it into its present condition. To these interpretations, and opinions, geology is directly opposed. The most part of the earth has been many times submerged, ocean waters have flowed over it, and many times has it been elevated, and clothed with vegetation, and inhabited by animals. These different elevations and subsidences are marked by the various classes of earth and rock, which compose the body of the globe, and the different kinds of animal and vegetable remains, which are found in them. Tropical plants and animals are found in cold climates, and in such positions that it is not possible to suppose, that they were conveyed from a distance by air or water, and deposited; showing that the temperature of the globe was once vastly higher than it now is, so that the temperate zones bore the plants of the tropics. But we have no reason to suppose, that any material change has taken place in the temperature of the earth, since man and

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the present race of animals were placed upon it. The time allotted by geologists for these elevations and subsidences is immensely long. Indeed, they do not attempt to decide definitely how long. It is out of their power to do it. They do, however, make the attempt to decide how long a period some strata required for their deposition, and hundreds of thousands of years are none too many to account for their condition. Mr. Babbage, in the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, says, "It is now admitted by all competent persons, that the formation of those strata even, which are *nearest the surface*, must have occupied vast periods, probably millions of years, in arriving at their present state."

Another popular opinion, with which geology conflicts, is that no beings were created upon the earth till immediately preceding the formation of man. That twenty-four hours before man was formed, was the first creation of animals. And also, that sixty-four hours before man was formed, the first plants were created. Fossil remains of animals and plants are found, however, in strata which must have been formed thousands of years before the creation of man, and the present races of animals. The precise number of creations that have taken place cannot be determined in the present state of geological science. Some geologists think they find evidence of thirty different distinctions and creations, in the different fossil remains. The number, however, is not essential to our purpose. It is sufficient to say, that long ages before the present races of plants and animals were created, there had existed verdure and animals upon the earth. Mighty monsters had sported in the primitive oceans, ages before the Leviathan had made his path to shine. We shall not enumerate the species of animals found in the rocks, though it might be interesting to do it. It does not bear directly upon the point, which we would endeavor to exhibit in our remarks. We refer the curious reader to Dr. Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise on this subject.

A third common interpretation is, that the heavenly bodies, including the sun and moon, were created forty-eight hours only before man; that light was made the first day, and the sun the fourth; and many have been the efforts of commentators to make darkness visible, in reference to this subject. They have supposed, "that light was created in a diffused state, and that afterwards it was condensed into the sun." More of this hereafter, if we find room. Geology teaches, that light ex-

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isted long before this. The fossil plants needed and had light to aid them in their growth. The plants, which are found imbedded in the lower strata of the globe had light when they grew upon the surface of the then existing world. And still more conclusively do we find evidence of the existence of light at this early period, in the structure of the eyes of fossil animals. The eye is made for light. And if these animals, whose remains are found in the solid rock, existed thousands of years before the present creation of animals, then light existed also. There is, consequently, a discrepancy between the common interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, and the facts of geology. And how, too, on this hypothesis of the diffused state of light at its first creation, can it be that there was evening and morning, for they imply a withdrawal and introduction of light. If it was equally diffused all round the globe, how could this be? It may be said, that it was diffused, but over one half of the surface of the earth; but this would require a miracle of a paradoxical character. It is evidently introducing omnipotent power to obviate difficulties of our own making.

Another common opinion is, that all plants and animals were created in one spot, and that from this one point on the surface of the globe, they were dispersed over the whole face of the earth. The present character of plants and animals, as well as the fossils, contradict this opinion. We find the present species of animals and plants adapted, by their organization, to particular localities. Their structure varies with climate, and they would die were they removed from their present location. The same is true of the fossil remains, whether animal or vegetable, which are found imbedded in strata of different formations. Then, as now, animals were adapted to particular climates and conditions. The extent of geological research is not sufficiently great to enable us to draw as decided conclusions respecting variety of climate from the fossil remains, as we can from specimens of living animals; still, enough can be derived from this source to satisfy us that the opinion, so prevalent, is incorrect; and that it would need the constant intervention of miraculous power to sustain animals and plants, which were not placed in regions and climates adapted to them.

A fifth popular interpretation of Scripture, which contradicts geological phenomena, is, that death was the result of the sin of our first parents; that no animal would have died, had it not been for the fatal act of plucking and eating

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"the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, with all our woe."

Whether the popular opinion embraces plants or not, we cannot tell. As man and beast both were permitted to eat of the plants, it would be reasonable to suppose, that those were not included in the popular opinion; still, opinions are so little conformed, oftentimes, to the reason of the case, that it will not be prudent for us, perhaps, to hazard a conjecture in regard to it. For how plants could be eaten without destroying insect life, unless a constant miracle intervened, it is impossible for us to understand; or how water could be drank from the spring or rivulet, without ending the career of animal existence, is past our conception. This much, however, is clear, the popular opinion, namely, that had not the first pair transgressed the command not to eat of the tree of "knowledge of good and evil," death would not have existed in the world. Geology teaches us, however, that the earth is one vast sepulchre. Some series of rocks are composed entirely of animal remains. "The polishing stone, first obtained from Tripoli, is composed of exquisite shells, which appear to constitute whole rocky masses, so minute that a cube of one-tenth of an inch is calculated to contain five hundred millions of individuals." "In the series of oolit and lias rocks, are found not only shells and fossils of small sea animals, but also remains of gigantic animals, formed for swimming in the sea, or crawling near the shores." "We see and examine their powerful teeth; the structure of their bones for the insertion, course, and action of muscles, nerves, and the tubes for circulation, indicating the function; and their very stomachs beneath their ribs, replenished with bones, fish scales, and other remains of animal food;" showing, past a doubt, that death existed in the world long before man was created, and that animals preyed upon one another. The structure of some of the present races of animals also shows, that they were designed by their Creator for beasts of prey, and that the idea so common of the domestic and herbivorous nature of hyenas, and sharks, and lions before the fall, is no less false than ludicrous. The physical structure of these animals as much shows, that they were made to prey upon other animals, as the physical structure of man shows that he was made to walk upright.

Such are the principal discrepancies between the common interpretation of the Mosaic record, and geological phenomena.

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How are these discrepancies to be reconciled with each other? Dr. Smith devotes a number of lectures to the enumeration of the various methods, which have been adopted to reconcile these discrepancies. It is in the introduction of this part of his volume, that he mentions that principle of interpretation, upon which we took occasion to remark in the commencement of this article. He is grieved to find Dr. Buckland expressing latitudinarian sentiments in regard to the manner, in which the Mosaic record should be interpreted; and thinks "it was introduced by him, more from oversight than with deliberate intention." We cannot think any such thing. We should as soon think the icthyosauri were introduced into the strata by "oversight." Our readers shall judge for themselves. The passage is this; "If in this respect geology should seem to require some little concession from the literal interpretation of Scripture, it may fairly be held to afford ample compensation for this demand, by the large additions it has made to the evidences of natural religion in a department, where revelation was not designed to give information." Thus Dr. Buckland. But says Dr. Smith, "The testimony of the word of Heaven does not lie at our disposal. We have not the power of conceding anything from it." Dr. Buckland did not ask to concede anything from it, from its real meaning; he only contended that the "*literal* interpreter" might make some "*little* concession." Such concession Dr. Smith often makes, as the Rev. Mr. Cole, before quoted, shows, and as we shall have occasion to show more fully before we have done.

But to return from this digression. The first means of reconciling the facts of geology with the Mosaic record, is to deny the facts altogether, and to say that all the deductions of geologists are false; that they disagree so much among themselves, that no dependence can be placed upon their conclusions. Such persons should bear in mind that, however much geologists may disagree upon other facts of geology, they are agreed in the general results above enumerated; so that their disagreeing in other parts of the science, is only the stronger proof of the correctness of those principles, in which they are agreed. This class of objectors to geology are severe in their remarks respecting geologists, and class them very unceremoniously with infidels, and opposers of revelation. A specimen of their manner of writing has been cited. Some of this class account for some of the phenomena of geology, which they cannot

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deny, in this way. They say that "Almighty God may, by the mere fiat of his power, have intentionally brought every rock and stratum, every fossil leaf and shell and bone into its present form and condition." (*Rev. J. Mellor Brown*, as quoted by Dr. Smith, p. 158.) And this is attempted to be confirmed, oftentimes, by saying, that the first tree that was created, must have had all the layers of the tree that has grown up to maturity, so that if the first man had fallen a tree, which was created two days before him, he would have counted those concentric rings, which would have made it hundreds, perhaps, of years old. Now the analogy between the two things does not hold in any respect whatever, as far as the essential thing is regarded. Those more porous portions of the woody fibre are supposed to be essential to the sustenance of the tree; but of what conceivable use to the rock is the bone, which is found imbedded in it; and made, too, precisely as if it had been a part of a living being, "the candyles, the receiving hollows, the grooves and port-holes for the passage of nerves and blood-vessels;" and then, teeth, with all their sockets of every variety for eating flesh and plants; and, more than all, stomachs with masticated food in them, all these created as they are, and hidden in the eternal rock! Had there been no fossil remains of any kind, it might have been said with more appearance of plausibility, that the strata might have been created as they are for some electric or magnetic purpose. But as the matter stands, there is no analogy between the two cases mentioned; or on the other hand, had the tree been created with implements of the mechanic or agricultural arts imbedded in its trunk, the analogy would have been more perfect.

Another class of those, who deny the conclusions of geology, affirm that the processes of nature were more rapid, so that "each plant and animal could go through all its stages of life and death in the fraction of a moment." But such a condition of things is entirely opposed to facts. Everything of this nature has the appearance of gradual formation and continued existence. The various strata testify, that they must have been formed gradually; thin laminæ, so delicate that thirty do not exceed one inch in thickness, are separated by the stems and seed-vessels of small water-plants, and countless multitudes of minute shells, showing that time intervened between these vegetable and animal deposits. Suppose it to be a year; strata are found of this character sixty feet thick, taking for their formation

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eighteen thousand years. In volcanic regions the gradual character of these changes is still more striking; the channels of rivers running through them, being worn down by the current of the water one hundred and fifty feet into the granite, which underlies the volcanic products. The period of time, which it has taken the Niagara to wear back to the present falls, extends back beyond the present account of the creation, and its banks show, that the process has been gradual. The manner, in which the strata are deposited, composed as different strata are of different kinds of abraded rocks, which were upheaved from the bed of the ocean, opposes conclusively any such rapid course of action; any such astonishing activity in vegetable and animal life is also contradicted by the appearance of fossil remains. It is doubtless true, that some causes were more active then, than now. Yet the opinion is becoming more prevalent among geologists, that the increased activity of volcanic and other action in the early history of our earth, has been overestimated, and Mr. Lyell's work has nearly demonstrated, that most, if not all causes of change in the earth's surface are now as great as ever they have been. It is, then, sufficient to say respecting this mode of reconciling the apparent discrepancies between the Mosaic and geological history of our earth, that it is merely conjectural, and is opposed by facts of the most conclusive character. The geological phenomena contradict the conjecture in every one of its particulars.

Another mode of reconciling these discrepancies is, by expanding the six days of creation into six indefinite periods of time. Cuvier, Parkinson, and Professor Jameson of Edinburgh, adopted this theory. Professor Silliman also advocates the same theory now; though we are informed by Dr. Smith that it is generally relinquished. They were led to adopt this theory because it was, to their minds, clear that immense periods of time had passed, since the material of which the earth is composed was brought into existence. There was no way of escaping from this conclusion. It was impossible for a mind, that understood the facts in the case, to believe that all the changes presented by geology could have taken place in six thousand years. They were led, therefore, to look into the record, and see if it would admit of any interpretation, which would reconcile it with indisputable geological phenomena. They found that the word "day" would admit of the meaning of "period," and consequently adopted that as the meaning of

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the word in the first chapter of Genesis. Thus "ample scope and verge enough" was given for all the wants of geology. They were also encouraged to believe that the theory was correct, as it was then thought, that the "succession of geological beds," as far as reference was had to organic remains, corresponded in a remarkable degree with the narrative. It is objected, however, to this theory, that later and more extensive geological researches show, that no such correspondence exists, as was then supposed. And with regard to the other interpretation, it may be said, that its advocates must admit, that there is a change made in the meaning of the word, the seventh day, which was the sabbath, and it is not easily understood how the writer should use the word to denote immense periods of time, in six instances, and in the seventh limit its signification to twenty-four hours. If it be admitted, that the seventh day is also an indefinite period, and simply means, that the Deity rests, during this period, from all creative exertion in reference to this earth, and that consequently it has nothing to do with the seventh day as a day of rest for man, then this difficulty is obviated. But there is another, of perhaps not less magnitude, which presents itself at once; says the record, "and the evening and the morning were the first day;" or more literally, there was evening and there was morning the first day. It would appear from the common version, that the writer of this chapter understood that the evening and morning composed the first day, and all the others; for the same form is used during all the days till the seventh. The literal rendering we have given does not appear as conclusive in favor of this opinion. Yet it would seem, from a comparison of this first with the other verses, that such was the writer's meaning. It is true, that in a repetition of the account of the creation, or in another history of it derived from a different source, commencing in the second chapter at the fourth verse, the word "day" is made to cover the whole time occupied by the creation. "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created, in the *day* that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." It is obvious, however, to every reader, that the use of the word day in this sense, in this account of the creation, is by no means a test of its use in the other account, where different days are spoken of, in which the work was performed. It may be a presumption of that meaning; it is no proof of it. In the latter instance, the word relates to the whole period, in which creative

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energy was put forth; in the former, it points out particular periods, one of which is the sabbath, and the others designated as composed of evening and morning.

It may well be asked here, as it undoubtedly will be by the supporters of this theory, how a period of twenty-four hours could be measured, since the sun was not created till the fourth day? We will not resort to an old hypothesis, by saying that the Deity could as well tell the lapse of twenty-four hours before the sun was created, as after it. It may be said, — and this is all we say at present, we shall resume the subject soon, — that the sun *had been* created. Its light, not its form, only being visible from the earth. There would, of course, be evening and morning, as much as if the orb of the sun were visible, — the sun itself making its appearance on the fourth day, the mists and clouds having disappeared from the earth's atmosphere.

We proceed to another theory, which has been formed to reconcile these phenomena of geology with Genesis. It is not one that has been adopted by any geologist, that we are aware of, but by theologians, who assume that the present interpretation of the first of Genesis is correct. This theory considers the Mosaic record as indubitably affirming the creation of the universe, within the period of six natural days, at an epoch about six thousand years back; then, it regards the interval from the creation to the deluge, as affording a sufficient lapse of time for the deposition of the chief part of the stratified formations; and finally, it considers the remainder of the phenomena as adequately accounted for by the action of the diluvial waters. Dr. William Hales, of Dublin, in his "Analysis of Chronology," estimates the period from the creation to the deluge at three thousand one hundred and fifteen years. According to the Hebrew copy of the Bible, it was but one thousand six hundred and fifty-six. We suppose, those who advocate the theory, to which we now refer, will not wish to deviate from the Hebrew chronology; but we are willing they should avail themselves of all the benefit they can derive from nearly twice that period. Even that will fall infinitely short of their need. All that has been before said respecting the length of time required to deposit some of the strata can be brought against this theory in full force. Take the laminated strata of sixty feet in thickness, to which we just referred, the formation of which alone would have taken eighteen thousand years, six times the

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amount almost of the longest period assigned between the creation and the deluge. And this is but one stratum. There are others, which demand an equal, and many, still longer periods of time. Add to this, the facts of the submersion of the land under the water, and of the elevation of the bed of the ocean above the water, as shown by the fossil remains of land and water, animals and plants, and the new creations that must have taken place after the destruction of former species, and you must have a period of time, in which these changes have taken place, compared with which the space from the creation to the flood is less than a point. We remember reading, some seven or eight years since, a work by Granville Pern, which was entitled "A Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaic Geologies," in which he advocates one form of this theory, with many words and much warmth. He supposes that all the strata were formed under the antediluvian ocean, and that the bed of this ocean was upheaved at the deluge, and the former land submerged, and that we now dwell upon the bed of the early ocean. He does not seem to regard at all the fact, that there is as much evidence of nearly thirty elevations and submersions of the land, as of one. And, while he starts back with horror at the idea of any new interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, and professes (we do not question the sincerity of the profession, we only wish there was more consistency in it) the utmost regard for revelation, he blots out with one dash of his pen from the record, the account of the situation of Eden as recorded in the second chapter, as if his regard for the historian's veracity did not extend beyond one chapter. Many other theological writers have advocated the same, or similar opinions. Sharon Turner, in a popular work, which has been reprinted in Harper's Family Library, entitled "The Sacred History of the World," admits, that "what interval occurred between the first creation of the material substance of our globe, and the mandate for light to descend upon it, whether months, years, or ages, is not in the slightest degree noticed. Geology may shorten or extend its duration, as it may find proper. There is no restriction on this part of the subject." Still he contends, that all the strata, and of course fossil remains, were formed and deposited between the first day, and the flood, or in the space of sixteen hundred and fifty-six years! It is a pity, that so popular a work should have been so erroneous in this particular. It contains, however, a mass of curious information, and detached facts,

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which, in the hands of a skilful workman, might be wrought into a beautiful and attractive work.

We proceed to the consideration of another method of making harmonious the voices from earth and heaven. And it is the one which is adopted by Dr. Smith, in the work before us. He devotes one lecture to a consideration of the principles of interpretation which should be applied to the early record. He holds to its inspiration, though not to the miraculous revelation to the mind of Moses of the facts recorded. He says, "the earlier part of the Book of Genesis consists of several distinct compositions, marked by their differences of style, and by express formularies of commencement. "We have no slight reasons for supposing, that Moses compiled the chief part of the Book of Genesis, by arranging and connecting ancient memorials, under divine direction." "Thus, though it is impossible to affirm with confidence such a position, yet it appears far from improbable, that we have, in this most ancient writing of the world, the family archives of Abram and his ancestors; documents from the hands of Jacob, Abraham, Shem, Noah, and, possibly higher still, authentic memorials from Enoch, Seth, and Adam." One would hardly suppose it was necessary to introduce the "divine direction" in a history composed by "arranging and connecting" "authentic memorials." Dr. Smith probably intended to have the history *certainly* correct. He also maintains, that "the revelations successively given to the fathers of mankind, to the ancestors of the Israelitish nation, and to particular persons of that nation, were conveyed in *representations to the senses*, chiefly to the *sight*, and in *words descriptive* of those representations," and hence when natural phenomena were spoken of, they were spoken of as they appeared to the eye of the beholder. The sun and the stars revolve, the earth is stationary, the moon is a larger, and a star a lesser light. The firmament is spoken of as a solid concavity, in which the stars are fixed, and through whose windows the rain is poured down; and he comes to the conclusion, that it is the "*manner* of the Scriptures to speak of the Deity and his operations in language borrowed from the bodily and mental constitution of man, and from those opinions concerning the works of God in the natural world, which were generally received by the people, to whom the blessing of revelation was granted." If the Deity permitted himself to be spoken of in language, which was suited to men's capacities and conceptions, much more might it not be

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expected that *natural* objects would be spoken of in such a manner "as comported with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered?" And on the next page, he says; "We stand, therefore, upon safe ground, and are fully warranted by Divine authority, to *translate* the language of the Old Testament upon physical subjects, into such modern expressions as shall be *agreeable to the reality* of the things spoken of." This, certainly, is a liberal principle of interpretation. Suppose the Doctor should apply it to the interpretation of miracles performed upon demoniacs. We commend such an application to both himself and his disciples. We doubt whether the Jews of the Saviour's day were much better versed in the philosophy of insanity, than Adam and Noah and Moses were in the science of geology.

But to return. With this principle of interpretation before us, there is no difficulty in reconciling the record with the facts. We believe the principle to be a true one. We are not so clear, however, that the Doctor has taken a correct view of the nature and design of this portion of the Book of Genesis. The author of the volume before us assumes, that this account of the early period of the world was collected by Moses under Divine direction," for the purpose of informing men respecting the mode of creation. Perhaps this is not so clear as he supposes; but we will give his theory of this account, and then throw what few remarks we have to make into a separate paragraph. He supposes, that between the first and second verse, there is no direct connexion; and quotes Dathe's translation as being correct. "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. But afterwards the earth became waste and desolate." Between the time specified in the first verse, and the time referred to in the second, he thinks, intervened vast periods of time, in which several destructions and creations of animals and plants took place; several subsidences and elevations of land happened, and all the fossils which the strata contain, and the strata themselves are deposited. Dr. Smith thinks that the word "*earth*," subsequently to the first verse, and throughout the whole description of the six days, as designed to express *the part of our world which God was adapting for the dwelling of man and the animals connected with him.*" "It never entered into the purpose of revelation to teach men geographical facts, or any other kind of physical knowledge." Professor Stuart makes the same remark respecting the purpose of revela-

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tion in "Hebrew Chrestomathy." "The Bible was not designed," says he, "to teach the Hebrews astronomy or geology." Again; Dr. Smith says, immediately after the passage quoted above, "that we are not obliged by the terms made use of, to extend the narrative of six days to a wider application than this; a description, in expressions adapted to the ideas and capacities of mankind in the earliest ages of a series of operations, by which the Being of omnipotent wisdom and goodness adjusted and furnished the earth generally, but as the particular subject under consideration here, a portion of its surface for most glorious purposes." This portion, he thinks, is included "between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Tartary on the north, the Persian and Indian Seas on the south; and the high mountain ridges, which run at considerable distances on the eastern and western flank. Here man was placed, here lived, and never wandered beyond this region before the flood." He thinks, "that this portion sank under the sea, and produced a state of waste and desolation, and darkness was upon it; not absolute privation of light, but relative darkness. The atmosphere continued to clear itself of vapors, and the land to heave up again above the waters, and vegetation appeared upon it. By the fourth day the atmosphere had become so clear, that the sun might be seen. Animals were then formed; and lastly, man." Dr. Smith does not think that there is any account of the creation of the "thousands of tribes of insects, moluscous creatures, and animalcula." He thinks, the plants referred to in the account of the creation were only "grasses, food for cattle; herbs, for human use; trees, producing edible fruit; of timber-trees, and thousands of other important genera, there is no hint." He makes no reference to the apparent discrepancies between the first and second chapters, in their account of the creation. Having thus disposed of the creation, he turns to consider another apparent discrepancy. It is, that geology reveals the existence of pain and death, long before the sin of our first parents; that animals died and devoured each other, is one of the incontestable facts disclosed by geological research. Dr. Smith supposes, that animals did die before the sin of the first pair; and contends, that the sentence of death pronounced upon them had no reference to any but the human species. Had not our first parents sinned, they would "have undergone a *physical change different from dying*, which would have translated them into a higher condition of happy existence." We are glad to

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find, from such a source, views so much like our own. Death has been clothed with terror by being connected with Adam's sin. Man was not made to dwell here; another sphere was to be his home. And we do not believe, that the death spoken of as inflicted upon man, or as consequent upon his eating the forbidden fruit, was temporal, or physical death, but spiritual. Here "the sting of death is sin," but because it disqualifies the spirit for the enjoyment of the state, upon which it is to enter, and thus causes an approach to that state to be one of dread. We do not mean to deny, that sin brings physical pain; adds suffering to our departure from the earth, when considered merely in a physical point of view; but we do not believe, that this was all that was meant, if any reference was had to it, when those momentous words were uttered, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." We are glad that Dr. Smith does so much toward removing what we think to be a pernicious opinion, calculated to diminish the real evil, and divert the mind from the true punishment of sin. Let him who doeth evil remember, that the deep and dark stain of guilt is on the spirit, that it can be effaced by no outward ablutions, or changes of a physical character. It can be removed only by repentance and reformation.

We will not enter into a detailed account of Dr. Smith's views of the history of the deluge, as that subject is not one, which we proposed to ourselves to consider. We will barely mention his opinions, without reference to the reasons of them, that our readers may understand what views are held by divines of his school. He thinks the deluge only coextensive with the habitations of men, which, as we have just observed, he confines to narrow limits in Western Asia. The rest of the earth was not covered with water. Beasts, birds, and vegetation still lived, and flourished unharmed over all the rest of earth. We ought to have said, in the account of the creation, that Dr. Smith believes that plants and animals were created and placed in those climates and localities which were suited to their natures, and that they did not all spread from Eden. He thinks none but domestic animals, or but few others were taken into the ark; that there were but few inhabitants upon the face of the earth, since Noah, at the age of five hundred years had but three sons; that the ark lodged upon some gently elevated mountain in the eastern portion of the deluged earth, and not upon the modern Ararat. And he quotes from Bishop Stillingfleet, Matthew

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Poole, Le Clerc, and Rosenmüller, to substantiate more or less of his views on this subject. He accounts for the age of the antediluvians as being necessary to people the earth, from the slowness of increase in the inhabitants, there being but few births during a great number of years. It will be seen, that there is enough of heresy in these opinions, if they had come from certain quarters, to have doomed them to merciless rebuke or unmingled scorn. Indeed, as it is, they receive both, as quotations in the volume itself show. When shall we learn by our own sufferings to be charitable toward others?

Such is Dr. Smith's History of the Creation and Deluge. That he has laid down some correct principles of interpretation, and put a fair show of probability upon it, is quite evident. There is one more method of reconciling the apparent discrepancies between the Mosaic account and geology, which we have reserved till the close, though in the volume before us it is hinted at before the learned author proposes his own theory. He quotes the Rev. Baden Powell as standing sponsor for it. It is, as Mr. Powell states it, that the account of the creation "was not intended for an *historical* narrative; and if the representation cannot have been designed for *literal history*, it only remains to regard it as having been intended for the better enforcement of its objects in the language of *figure and poetry*; and to allow that the manner in which the Deity was pleased to reveal himself to the Jews as accomplishing the work of creation was (like many other points of this dispensation) veiled in the guise of apologue and parable; and that only a more striking representation of the greatness and majesty of the Divine power and creative wisdom was intended, by embodying the expression of them in the language of *dramatic action*." Dr. Smith sees in this a "mythic hypothesis, which the German antisupernaturalists generally hold." He is frightened, of course. It is monstrous heresy to suppose, that this account is not designed to state philosophically and literally the mode of creation, if the supposition savors of German origin. And yet it is no heresy to suppose, that the whole account of the creation of the six days refers to a little spot of land in Western Asia; and that the heavenly bodies were not *made* on the fourth day, as declared, but only *appeared*, and that there is no account of the creation of "timber-trees," and "insects, and animalcula." Truly, there is some meaning in our Saviour's allusion to the "mote and beam."

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But it is time that our remarks were closed. It is conceded, on all hands, that it was no part of Moses' design to write a philosophical, literal account of the creation. Then it is all a matter of taste what form that account should appear in. Any form that it may assume does not destroy the fact. The account would of course be given so as to produce the most effect upon the minds addressed. Such would be the design. And the sublime and graphic account, that is recorded in Genesis, was calculated to produce this effect upon the minds of those who read it. The origin of this account is not so clear. There are but three methods of accounting for it. It was revealed directly to the mind of Moses, or it had been revealed to the minds of some one or more, who preceded him, or it was the product of some mind, either Moses' or some of his predecessors, without any divine authority. The first of these hypotheses Dr. Smith does not believe, for he considers the first chapter of Genesis as a compilation. He must, of course, embrace the second, since the third would destroy the supernatural character of the document. But here an open question meets him. Did Moses intend to have this history understood as being of divine origin, or did he only collect what he found in being relating to the creation and deluge, and prefix it to his account of the origin of his nation, beginning with Abraham? Here is a previous question to be settled, which Dr. Smith has not touched. If Moses had no intention of giving to this history a divine sanction, then all anxiety about any apparent discrepancies between it and geology would be entirely gratuitous. We do not say, that he does not sanction the account; but we ask for proof that he does. We ask, where is the evidence, that these were not such views on the subjects, as had been handed down from time immemorial, and were embodied by him merely to give fulness to his family history? For ourselves, we find no difficulty, taking Dr. Smith's principles of interpretation, before quoted, in making geological facts harmonize with this account. And we do not see the discrepancies between the account contained in the first and second chapters, which some have supposed to exist. But we have no space to go into this subject. It is one of too much magnitude to be condensed into the closing paragraphs of an article in a Review.

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ART. V. — *Letters to the Rev. Professor Stuart, comprising Remarks on his Essay on Sin.* BY DANIEL DANA, D. D.

SOME brief notice of this work was taken in one of our former numbers.* It is not our purpose to investigate, in detail, the merits of the controversy; but only to offer a few thoughts on certain parts and points of Dr. Dana's correspondence, in connexion with the general subject.

I. Dr. Dana, we think, commits a great mistake in distinguishing two essentially different kinds of sin; "*the vitium*, and *the peccatum*;" *the original*, and the *actual*; *the constitutional*, and the *voluntary*. These are two things, so heaven-wide apart, that we know not on what principle of generalization they can be brought together, and made but one. The pretended *vitium* is a constituent principle of man's nature; the work of his Creator; a thing of which he became possessed *involuntarily*, and without his knowledge. Can things so distinct as the work of God and the work of man be of the same responsible character? Is a creature responsible for what the author of his being put within him, and made him to be? Is a man the subject of blame for having a colored skin, a dull perception, a feeble imagination, or a sensitive state of nerves? These are not *his own work*; he had no agency in their construction. *Voluntary action*, in contravention of the dictates of knowledge and conscience, is altogether a different thing. "To him who knoweth to do good, but committeth wrong, to him it is sin." This is the apostle's doctrine; and the dictate of man's moral nature.

A just philosophy, very obviously, cannot make two radically different kinds of sin; the one *immanent*, and the other *processive*; the one wholly *subjective* and uncontrolable, the other *objective* and optional. If blame be justly predicable of the one, it is not to be truly predicated of the other, and of both. So judged the abettors of the "*taste-scheme*," which, to a considerable extent, flourished some thirty and forty years ago. They accounted all sin as existing in "the vitium." This was the core of their theory; the nucleus of their system. With them, action was not a responsible thing; it had no moral

* See Christian Examiner, No. 95.

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character. The acts of the will were as non-moral as those of the intellect, and as those of the bodily organs. The sin was in the vitium of the constitution, and it being there, they saw the impropriety of placing it anywhere else. They avoided the inconsistency of making two totally different kinds of moral evil. But though, in this point, they had a consistent theory, yet this theory being untrue, they were often easily embarrassed. When pressed with such questions as the following; "Here are two men of the same mental temperament; the one has committed a horrid murder, but the other has never thought of perpetrating such a deed, having never been tempted to it. Are these two men equally guilty? The answer was; 'They are both guilty of murder, but the sin of him, who *has* perpetrated the deed, is more aggravated than that of the other.' But what do you mean by aggravation? 'It is a fuller manifestation; it is sin more acted out.' In what consisted the first sin? 'In the vitium of Adam's heart.' Did this come upon him previously to his forbidden act, or subsequently to it? 'It came upon him as the penalty of his eating the forbidden fruit.' Was Adam a sinner before he became the subject of the vitium? 'No; he could not be a sinner until he had a wicked nature.' Was Adam holy, when he 'plucked and ate the fruit of that forbidden tree'? 'Yes; he must have been holy until he became the subject of spiritual death, *the vitium*, which was the penalty denounced in the threatening.' Was the act of Adam's disobedience a holy act, or a sinful act? 'It could not be a holy act, because it was forbidden of God; nor could it have been a sinful act, because it proceeded from a holy nature. It was, therefore, neither holy nor sinful. You may call it an indiscretion; a mistake; an imprudence; or what you please.' Was it a moral act? 'No; there are no such things as moral acts. There are moral beings, but not moral *actions*. It is much more proper to call men moral *beings*, than to call them moral *agents*. Little children are not moral agents, yet they are moral beings. Nor, perhaps, is the case much different, in regard to the adult and mature portion of mankind.' But how could Adam's sinless act justly incur so dreadful a punishment? 'Such was the pleasure of God. The vitium, perhaps, was more a consequence than a punishment.'

The fact is here palpable, that the theory which refers all responsibleness and guilt to "the vitium" of human nature, was found to be most perplexing and absurd. Nor is that theory

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less untenable, which refers *one half* of it to the same source. In one point, we fully coincide with the "*taste-men;*" if we refer *any*, we will refer the *whole;* if we do not refer the whole, we will refer none. Consistency very sternly demands this. The neglect of strictly observing this distinction has done much disservice to the cause of truth. It has created a cloud and a fog for the resort and escape of some controversialists, who, otherwise, would have been confessedly routed, disarmed, and obliged to surrender. A remarkable case of this description occurred among us twenty years ago, in the controversy so ably conducted between the Abbot Professor at Andover, and the Hollis Professor at Cambridge. The former very dexterously availed himself of the advantage of being, one part of the time, on the ground of the "taste-scheme," and the other part of the time on that of the "exercise-scheme." When one foundation was sinking, he would stealthily change his position to the other. When the latter was, in its turn, giving way under him, he would leap back to the former. Had he kept himself, as consistency and truth required, to one foundation, either to "the vitium," or to the "peccatum," his discomfiture must have been apparent and acknowledged. And if the coming to the understanding of the truth had been the Doctor's only object, as, doubtless, he thought it was, it had been happy and honorable for him to have admitted that he had found himself on the wrong side. The admission of truth, under every circumstance, is an honor and a happiness. Let the highway, in which truth is sought, be dispossessed of all its hiding-places and coverts from detection, and every one who strives in this stadium open his whole bosom and heart, unmailed and naked, to the influences of the light that may act upon him. It is by making false distinctions where there should be none; and by making none where distinctions should be made; it is by calling the same things by different names, and different things by the same name, that error manage to hold its ill-gained sway, and thus to become the most indomitable conservative in the world.

The "taste-men," however, were no fools, but, in their day, the best theological philosophers in our country. They recognised but one kind of sin. This was a just and an important principle. They misplaced the thing by reasoning lineally too far. As there is, manifestly, no sin, strictly speaking, in external action, because it proceeds from motive in the mind, so, said they, there can be no sin in an act of the will, for this proceeds as

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necessarily from the taste, the vitium of the heart, as external action proceeds from the will. The sin must lie at the fountain-head. Its seat must be in the subjective motive, not in the objective. Here was their mistake. And had they duly consulted the dictates of their moral nature, the true standard in the case, they might have rectified the error. Man's enlightened and unprejudiced conscience, duly consulted, never sanctions any description of wrong.

II. A second mistake, into which Dr. Dana has obviously fallen, is that of having confounded susceptibilities with dispositions. He thinks Professor Stuart to be very erroneous, when he declares that all the susceptibilities of the mind are innocent; not moral; neither holy nor sinful. But "common sense," says Dr. Dana, "does impute blame to men for their wrong dispositions." This is true. It is not, however, true, that dispositions and susceptibilities are the same thing. Take, for illustration, the following supposed case. Here are two men, long and grossly addicted to intemperance. They both resolve on reformation; and one of them carries his purpose into full effect. He is never again overcome by his besetting sin. His appetite, however, continues to crave the cup. He is obliged to be continually on his watch; circumspect and resolute. By a hard and daily combat, he gains a constant, final, and glorious victory. But the other man, acted upon by similar influences, both from within and from without, loses his good purpose, and relapses into his old iniquity. Now these men have the same susceptibilities. But have they now the same moral character? Is the reformed man as wicked as he was before, because his appetite for strong drink is the same as ever? On the contrary, is not the genuineness and merit of his virtue in proportion to the constancy and strength of the temptations which he so effectively resists? And if a man is not criminal on account of having an appetite or susceptibility for strong drink, we may safely infer, that neither is he criminal for *any* affection in his animal, social, or moral nature, provided he maintains the requisite control over it. The sin is in the indulgence, not in the susceptibility. The reformed man, on our supposition, ceased to have the character of a drunkard, from the moment he took his effective resolution. Henceforth, he had no disposition to drink. He had an appetite, but that was involuntary, and not a disposition, properly so called, which implies deliberation and choice. It is something

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acted out; or which would be acted out, if circumstances permitted. Susceptibility and disposition, therefore, are never to be regarded as identical. They are things entirely distinct and different.

III. We proceed to notice a third mistake in Dr. Dana's letters. He thinks Professor Stuart misjudges in supposing his own theory of sin to be similar to President Edwards's theory of Adam's fall. This theory is given by Dr. Dana on page 29. "To account for a sinful corruption of nature . . . there is not the least need of supposing any evil quality . . . in the nature of man; or that he is conceived and born with a fountain of evil in his heart. . . . The absence of positive good principles, and so the withholding of a special Divine influence, to impart and maintain those good principles, leaving the common natural principles of self-love, natural appetite, &c., to themselves, without the government of superior Divine principles, will be followed with the corruption of the heart." According to this theory, innocent Adam became a sinner and a subject of corruption by failing to govern the appetites and affections of his heart; he yielded to evil influences, and thus lost the sway of good influences; and all this without having "any evil quality in his heart," as the prerequisite of his fall. Such is President Edwards's theory of Adam's sin and sinfulness. And such manifestly is Professor Stuart's theory of sin. Who can discern any discrepancy between them?

Again; Professor Stuart charges President Edwards with inconsistency. He alleges that this theory of the fall of Adam is altogether in contradiction to the doctrine of an innate vitium, to establish which Mr. Edwards wrote his whole book on "Original Sin." But Dr. Dana will not allow that there is any inconsistency. How could he, however, be so dim-sighted on this subject? To us, nothing is more plain. How stands the case? President Edwards in his preface remarks, that the Arminians boasted loudly not only of the goodness of their cause, but of the rapid progress it was making both in Old England and in New; that he felt impatient and indignant at all this, and determined, God helping him, to make a demonstration to convince and humble them. The President then proceeds, with all that deep sagacity and wariness, which characterize the man, to lay the foundations strongly, and then build his superstructure firmly upon them.

His first position is, "*that all men are sinners.*" This

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proposition, understanding it in its most extended, strict, and universal sense, he turns to very great account. Abundance of Scripture is cited in proof. There is no exception in the case. Every individual of mankind is included. Of course, the first moral exercise of every human heart is a sinful one. The first moral act of every man is a transgression. For otherwise there would be some exceptions. If any of mankind passed the first day or hour or minute of their accountable life without committing sin, then human sinfulness would not be universal. But the Scriptures declare it to be universal. And being thus universal, it must, of course, be very deep and strong; for otherwise, it would not work so soon and so effectually. He understands the Scriptural passages on this subject as having been uttered in a sense strictly literal, and which should now be so received; with technical precision; with mathematical exactness. But is this a fact? Are not all the different parts of the Bible written in popular language? Are not words and phrases used in a very liberal sense, and, of course, to be so interpreted? Such is confessedly the case on other subjects; why not, then, on the subject of human sinfulness?

From the universal sin of mankind, Edwards infers the deep and desperate corruption of human nature itself. An all pervading and powerful vitium in the soul of every man. The fountain itself must be strongly contaminated, or the streams from it would not be so polluted. The tree, in its whole grain and constitution, must be evil, or the fruits would not be universally naught and bad. He then proceeds to take up and to put down objections. This he does with a giant arm. He goes from one to another, and sweeps them away as if they were small dust and cobwebs. At length he comes to this objection, from Dr. Taylor; "The doctrine of original sin implies that God has infused a poisonous taint into human nature. He has poisoned what would otherwise have been pure; and is, therefore, the author of human corruption." But President Edwards, with all his nerve, could not look this doctrine in the face. Though he had asserted it a thousand times, and held it to be one of the grand fundamentals of orthodoxy; yet in this shape, the sight of it was insupportable. His countenance paled at the aspect, and he turned from it, confounded and dismayed. A more complete victory was never won in the field of controversy than was gained by Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, England, over President Edwards of Nassau-Hall, New Jersey.

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Under the pressure of this extreme embarrassment, Edwards propounded his theory of Adam's fall. It was done for the purpose of disembarrassing himself of an insupportable burden. It is developed at great length, spread over some six, eight, or ten pages, with much complexity and want of clearness. The theory is, palpably, in direct contradiction of the doctrine of his book, which he wrote for the express and avowed purpose of proving that there *is* an innate vitium in human nature. This vitium can be no other than a moral poison, which, as it belongs to the constitution of man, must have been imparted to it by man's Divine Creator. *The theory* of Edwards says, that Adam, without having in his nature, or having infused into it, any evil quality, committed transgression; debased himself, and became a subject of moral corruption. But the *doctrine* of Edwards says, men would not commit sin, unless they were previously and inherently depraved. The theory makes man the author of his own vitium; the doctrine makes it the work of the all-perfect and glorious God. The theory harmonizes with the universal experience of mankind, and is confirmed by it; but the doctrine is irreconcilable with what every man knows of himself and his neighbor. That so intellectual and good-hearted a man as Dr. Dana should not have clearly perceived, and candidly acknowledged the repugnance of the one to the other, might be an inexplicable problem, were it not that the power of educational prejudices is so obvious and omnipotent all the world over.

And was there not the like failure on the part of Dr. Woods, in his controversy on the same subject with Dr. Ware? Edwards and Woods may be regarded as the ablest champions for the doctrine of original sin, that have ever appeared in our country. And do we speak invidiously when saying, that each sustained a similar defeat? Dr. Woods, with great adroitness, maintained his doctrine with the same argument as President Edwards; *from the consideration of man's actual and universal wickedness.* It stood, as he represented, on the foundation of *fact and experience,* analogous to the laws of the world in the science of natural philosophy. *Men would not live sinfully unless they were the subjects of a sinful nature.* Against the validity of this argument, Dr. Ware opposed the case of Adam and Eve. They, confessedly, were made upright. Yet they committed sin. And if they, uncontaminated, did transgress, the fact is infrustrable, that a previously contaminated

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nature is not requisite to the commission of sin. Dr. Woods was now driven to the wall, and could not surmount it. He found himself in the same predicament as that in which Edwards had been before. And he made similar flounces, ineffective shifts, impotent and unavailing demonstrations.

A controversialist surely sustains a defeat, when he fails at the main point; when he is routed in the centre; when the foundation-stone sinks from under his feet. And such was, in this case, the fact; and we ask if it has not been made apparent, in regard to the elaborate arguments of President Edwards and Dr. Woods? These adroit men did much, and managed dexterously, to mend the gap and conceal their discomfiture. But it could not be concealed from any looker-on, who had so much as one "single" unfilmed eye. Dr. Taylor of New Haven not only saw, but he also acknowledged it. And hence, probably, the origin of what is called *Taylorism*. The author of this *ism* may, perhaps, be as truly found at Cambridge as at New Haven.

We add one thought more, and with it conclude. When will men have learned to make a legitimate use of their understanding, in the superlative cause of religion? Our race is endowed with this faculty for the very purpose of knowing truth, and distinguishing it from error. As there is truth in religion, we ought, in all propriety, to be sedulous and honest learners in this most highly important department of human interest and knowledge. Our reason is the only final power we possess for knowing truth. Other powers may aid us and be indispensable, but until reason has acted, truth, on no subject, can be known. It must act upon all our sensations, mental and bodily, before they become the medium of knowledge. Where our reason cannot act, we must be in the dark. It is as much our duty to God, as it is a matter of interest to ourselves, to act reasonably in all things. We can receive the instructions which God gives us from the light of nature, only by the legitimate action of our intellectual faculty. And by the same means only can we become acquainted with what he has revealed in the Holy Scriptures. Why, then, should we lay an interdict upon the movements of our understandings? Why should a man believe anything against the testimony of his senses, his reason, his experience, his conscience? Does the Bible demand of us any credence of this description? Dr. Dana concedes that there are passages of Scripture which must be accepted in a

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sense, comparative, partial, secondary, figurative. The principle is perfectly just. We cannot consistently interpret them by a different rule. When Jesus said, having little children before him, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," we understand the declaration in a comparative sense. When he said of the Son of God, "no man receiveth his testimony," we understand him to speak comparatively. And when it is said, "every imagination of man's heart was evil continually," we take the declaration in a comparative sense. David, making confession of his crimson-colored wickedness, and exclaiming, "I was shapen in iniquity, and born in sin," and Agur, the son of Jakeh, in the book of Proverbs, modestly professing his humble claims to notice in the following terms; "I am more brutish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man;" may be classed together, and understood to speak the language of comparison and hyperbole. But when it is declared, "Adam begat a son in his own likeness," we give a purely literal interpretation. The first man's sons were just such men as he was; Adam received a constitution from God at the moment of his formation, and this is communicated to all his descendants. *He* was frail, peccable, mortal; and such are *they*. Adam's posterity are depraved in the same sense that he was; and in no other. So teaches the text last quoted, and with this sentiment harmonizes the whole experience of mankind.

Would we divest ourselves of all our prejudices, the light, both from within and from without, would be surprisingly brightened. We should grow in knowledge, escaping from a vast amount of obscurity and darkness; losing our factitious knowledge, we should gain much that is true and healthful. Our rational and moral nature would then act agreeably to the design of Him who gave it. In all very important respects, we should "even of our own selves judge what is right." Ours would be the path of the just; as the shining light of the morn, "waxing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day."

S. F.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Lectures on Modern History, from the Irruption of the Northern Nations, to the Close of the American Revolution. By WILLIAM SMYTH, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: J. & J. J. Deighton. William Pickering: London. 1840. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE general ignorance of history in all classes of our community has long been a subject of regret with those, who have most assiduously watched over its intellectual discipline and culture. The calm self-possession which its lessons are adapted to teach, seems especially wanting, where political power is the birthright of every man. The call has been made upon our Colleges to do something towards removing the evil; but so far has, for the most part, been entirely unnoticed, or met with objections of a practical character. Many think it impossible to deal with a subject so extensive, in the little time that could be allotted to it in a course of college study. Others look upon history as something well worth knowing; but regard an acquaintance with it as something which must always depend on the choice and perseverance of each individual. They distrust all plans for teaching it. Give the instructor as large a proportion of time as he may desire, and they would not expect his pupils to derive any great advantage from his labors.

Without stopping to answer formally these objections, or even to show how all teaching in our Colleges is but an attempt to put the student in the way of the independent pursuit of the different branches taught, never aiming to exhaust any, we beg leave to refer to the work named above as their practical refutation. Not that such, for the first time, now makes its appearance. Other nations are wiser than we in this respect. In Germany, especially, an acquaintance with historical and with classical literature, are much more nearly on a level, than here. The lectures of many continental professors have been published; and almost all of these works have given proof of great talents and persevering industry, sometimes even of creative genius. And not only so, but have further shown, that the highest problems which the historian has to solve may be interesting to the general reader; and that direct instruction can accomplish as much in this department of study as in any other.

We doubt not, indeed, that many of these works display far greater talent than the less pretending volumes of Professor Smyth. But none, with which we are acquainted, have so com-

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pletely met the objections alluded to above, as these. Thirty-six hours suffice the lecturer to discuss the most important problems, and characterize the most eminent writers, in historical literature, from the irruption of the Northern barbarians into the Roman empire, to the close of the American Revolution. Twice that number of hours in each college term, might be given to such pursuits, without encroaching upon other departments of study, or imposing an ungrateful task upon the students. Of the Professor's method of teaching his boundless subject, which is a fair answer to our second class of objectors, we propose now to speak more in detail.

One sees at once, that in so small a compass there cannot be included all which it is desirable for the general reader to know of Modern History. And should the book be taken up with that expectation, nothing but disappointment can ensue. In fact, it is not so much a history of events, as a history of histories, or a series of critical notices of those works, which best illustrate different epochs, — disposed in such a manner as to give the student a fair view of what has been written upon each, — together with such hints on the political or religious bias of the various authors, as ought to weigh in our estimate of the value of their statements and opinions. The lecturer supposes the general outline of the facts to be known to his hearers; and starting on that assumption, goes on to speak of the differences of opinion about the principles, from which resulted the conduct of the most remarkable men, and to enumerate the different historians, who, as being the representatives of certain parties or interests, must be consulted by one who would form an independent judgment. And such is the interest he has given to his subject, that we venture to say he was not disappointed in the hope of finding his hearers prepared to benefit by his instructions. Indeed, we have it from the best authority, that few men have taught history to more purpose than Professor Smyth; not that he actually conveyed a greater amount of information than other teachers; but that he excited in all who heard him a desire of reading the books he mentioned, and so directed that desire as to make their studies productive of the greatest improvement. And such, we think, will be the effect of these lectures on the reader. It is, therefore, with great pleasure, that we hear of their probable republication in this country, to serve the purposes of a text-book for one of the classes in Harvard University. Other institutions, we doubt not, will follow so good an example as their elder sister is setting them in this respect; and who then shall calculate the good which these volumes will be the means of doing throughout our community? We venture to suggest, however, that in all cases,

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a manual setting forth the facts of history should be studied as a preparation for reading Professor Smyth.

But to return from this digression; in one important point great judgment has been shown; and that is, in the choice of subjects for the different lectures. Instead of adhering to a close chronological arrangement, our author groups together narrations and reflections according to their most natural relations; giving to each topic introduced the place which is its due in the great order of causes and effects. Then, omitting all details, he singles out the marked features of an important period, and refers us to the historian in whose pages may be found the pith of the whole matter. If it is one about which party feelings have been called into play, he not only refers us to the authorities on both sides, but frequently shows how far the statements of each are to be qualified or set aside. But while doing this, he is careful not to obtrude upon our notice a mass of books, for the perusal of which a life would hardly suffice. A passage from his introductory lecture will show how idle he considers such a course. "It is in vain to recommend to the generality of readers books, which it might be the labor of years to peruse; they will certainly not be perused, and the lecturer, while he conceives that he has discharged his office, has only made the mistake so natural to his situation, that of supposing that there is no art or science, or species of knowledge in existence, but the one he professes, and that his audience are, like himself, to be almost exclusively occupied in its consideration." Nor is the allusion to Dufresnoy less to the point; "After laying down a course of historical reading, such as he conceives indispensably necessary and quite practicable, he calmly observes, that the time which it is to take up is ten years; and this too upon a supposition, that much more of every day is to be occupied with study than can possibly be expected, and that many more pages shall be read in the twenty-four hours than can possibly be reflected upon." Professor Smyth is seldom found asking us to read a book *through*. He tells us, for instance, that this chapter of Gibbon, or that essay of Hume, contains just what is wanted for the elucidation of the subject in hand; and in respect to many books, either tacitly or expressly advises to omit all but the few pages which have called forth his remarks. But no arrogance accompanies his notices of those historians, whom he condemns to partial or total neglect. One sees that if art were shorter and time longer, no one of them would be treated with even apparent unkindness. Nor could its necessity be better illustrated, than in the anecdote which follows.

"I remember to have heard, that a man of literature and great historical reading had once been speaking of the great French historian,

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Thuanus, in those terms of commendation which it was natural for him to employ, when alluding to a work of such extraordinary merit. A youth, who had listened to him with all the laudable ardor of his particular time of life, had no sooner retired from his company, than he instantly sent for Thuanus, resolving to begin immediately the perusal of a performance so celebrated, and from that moment to become a reader of history. Thuanus was brought to him, — seven folio volumes. Ardent as was the student, surprise was soon succeeded by total and irremediable despair." — p. 7.

Indeed, we cannot sufficiently commend the spirit in which these lectures are written. There is, perhaps, no situation in the world, in which one is more tempted to run into paradox and startling doctrines, than the professor's chair. This, to be sure, is not so much the case in England as in France and Germany; but what is true in a great degree of Paris and Heidelberg, cannot, we think, be entirely false of Cambridge. For, though Universities have often been called, and frequently are, the headquarters of conservatism, yet is there even here ever a temptation to awake attention, by advancing new theories, and to strive for the fame of having developed new ideas, or discovered new facts. We are glad to see that Professor Smyth is above all artifices of this sort. He never makes us feel that in his own opinion he alone could fill his place with credit; and this is no slight relief to one who has been reading the lectures of some of the continental professors.

Neither does our author bend the facts of history to suit his purposes as a politician. We do not say that it would be impossible to guess at his political sentiments from the pages before us; we should be sorry if it were so; but we do say that no fair-minded man of any party has a right to complain of the treatment received at his hands. We are told that the Professor was, in his younger days, a Whig of the old school; but that his later talk is of the "Whigs having lost their wits, and of the Tories beginning to come to their senses." It is not from such a man that misstatements growing out of party feeling are to be apprehended. In his views of the Reformation, many, both Catholics and Protestants, may be disposed to reject his guidance. Yet here, there is nothing said unbecoming an honest sincere believer in the right of private judgment.

The passage, in which Gibbon is characterized, will convey a favorable idea of our author's method of criticism, and we accordingly extract it entire.

"It cannot have escaped your observation, how often I have mentioned the historian Gibbon; how much I leave entirely to depend on him; the manner in which I refer to him, as the fittest writer to supply

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you with information in all the earlier stages of modern history, and, indeed, as the only writer that you are likely to undertake to read; add to this, that I have already had occasion, and shall often hereafter have occasion, to mention his history in terms either of admiration or respect.

"Yet I cannot be supposed ignorant of the very material objections which exist to this History; and I certainly am not at ease in recommending those parts of the work which I do not approve, while I know there is so much both in the matter and manner of the whole, and of every part of it, which I cannot approve.

"I am, therefore, necessitated to make some observations on this celebrated writer, unfavorable as well as favorable, and this I must do with a minuteness disproportionate to all unity and keeping in the composition of general lectures like these. I am compelled to do so, by the nature of the audience I am addressing, and by the fame of the author.

"In the chapters which I in the first lecture referred to, the faults of this great historian do not appear. In the earlier part of his work, he respected the public, and was more diffident of himself. Success produced its usual effects; his peculiar faults were more and more visible as his work advanced, and in his later volumes he seems to take a pride, as is too commonly the case among men of genius, in indulging himself in liberties, which he would certainly have denied to others. And as the powers of the writer strengthened, as he went on, and kept pace with his disposition to abuse them, the History of the Decline and Fall became at last a work so singularly constituted, that the objections to it are too obvious to escape the most ordinary observer, while its merits are too extensive and profound to be fully ascertained by the most learned of its admirers.

"These faults will only be the more deeply lamented by those, who can best appreciate such extraordinary merits. Men of genius are fitted by their nature not only to instruct the understanding, but to fill the imagination and interest the heart. It is mournful to see the defects of their greatness; it is painful to be checked in the generous career of our applause. With what surprise and disgust are we to see in such a writer as Gibbon the most vulgar relish for obscenity! With what pain are we to find him exercising his raillery and sarcasm on such a subject as Christianity! How dearly shall we purchase the pleasure and instruction to be derived from his work, if modesty is to be scared away from our minds, and piety from our feelings! There seems no excuse for this celebrated writer on these two important points; he must have known, that some of the best interests of society are connected with the respectability of the female character; and with regard to his chapters on the progress of Christianity, and the various passages of attack, with which his work abounds, it is vain to say, that, as a lover of truth, he was called upon to oppose those opinions, which he deemed erroneous; for he was concerned, as an historian only with the effects of this religion, and not with its evidences; with its influence on the affairs of the world, not with its truth or falsehood.

"It would be to imitate the fault, to which I object, were I now to travel out of my appointed path, and attempt to comment upon these parts of his work. But as they who hear me are at a season of life, when liveliness and sarcasm have but too powerful a charm, more par-

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ticularly if employed upon subjects that are serious, it may not be improper to remind them, how often it has been stated, and justly stated, that questions of this nature are to be approached neither by liveliness nor by sarcasm, but by calm reasoning and regular investigation; and that to subject them to any other criterion, to expose them to any other influence, is to depart from the only mode we possess of discovering truth on any occasion; but more especially on those points, which youth as well as age, will soon discover to be of the most immeasurable importance.

"If we pass from the matter to the manner of this celebrated work, how are we not to be surprised, when we find a writer, who has meditated the finest specimens of ancient and modern literature, forgetting the first and most obvious requisite of the composition he is engaged in, simplicity of narrative. In the history of Mr. Gibbon, facts are often insinuated, rather than detailed; the story is alluded to, rather than told; a commentary on the history is given, rather than the history itself; many paragraphs, and some portions of the work, are scarcely intelligible without that previous knowledge, which it was the proper business of the historian himself to have furnished. The information which is afforded is generally conveyed by abstract estimates; a mode of writing which is never comprehended without an effort of the mind more or less painful; and when this exertion is so continually to be renewed, it soon ceases to be made. The reader sees, without instruction, sentence succeed to sentence, in appearance little connected with each other; cloud roll on after cloud in majesty and darkness; and at last retires from the work, to seek relief in the chaster composition of Robertson, or the unambitious beauties of Hume.

"On this account it is absolutely necessary to apprize the student of what it might, at first, seem somewhat strange to mention, that he will not receive all the benefit, which he might otherwise derive from the labors of this great writer, unless he reads but little of his work at the same time. It is not that his paragraphs, though full and sounding, signify nothing; but that they comprehend too much, and the reader must have his faculties, at every instant, fresh and effective, or he will not possess himself of the treasures, which are concealed, rather than displayed, in a style so sententious and elaborate. The perversity of genius is proverbial; but surely it has been seldom more unfortunately exercised than in corrupting and disfiguring so magnificent a work.

"For a moment we reverse the picture; the merits of the historian are as striking as his faults.

"If his work be not always history, it is often something more than history, and above it; it is philosophy, it is theology, it is wit and eloquence, it is criticism the most masterly upon every subject with which literature can be connected. If the style be so constantly elevated as to be often obscure, to be often monotonous, to be sometimes even ludicrously disproportioned to the subject; it must, at the same time, be allowed, that whenever an opportunity presents itself, it is the striking and adequate representative of comprehensive thought and weighty remark.

"It may be necessary, no doubt, to warn the student against the imitation of a mode of writing so little easy and natural. But the very necessity of the *caution* implies the attraction that is to be resisted; and it must be confessed, that the chapters of the Decline and

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Fall are replete with paragraphs of such melody and grandeur, as would be the fittest to convey to a youth of genius the full charm of literary composition, and as such, when once heard, however unattainable to the immaturity of his own mind, he would alone consent to admire, or sigh to emulate.

"History is always a work of difficulty, but the difficulties, with which Gibbon had to struggle, were of more than ordinary magnitude. Truth was to be discovered, and reason was to be exercised, upon times where truth was but little valued, and reason but little concerned. The materials of history were often to be collected from the synods of prelates, the debates of polemics, the relations of monks, and the panegyrics of poets. Hints were to be caught, a narrative was to be gathered up, from documents broken and suspicious, from every barbarous relic of a barbarous age; and, on the whole, the historian was to be left to the most unceasing and unexampled exercise of criticism, comparison, and conjecture. Yet all this, and more than all this, has been accomplished.

"The public have been made acquainted with periods of history which were before scarcely accessible to the most patient scholars. Order and interest and importance have been given to what appeared to defy every power of perspicacity and genius. Even the fleeting shadows of polemical divinity have been arrested, embodied, and adorned; and the same pages, which instruct the theologian, might add a polish to the liveliness of the man of wit, and imagery to the fancy of the poet.

"The vast and obscure regions of the middle ages have been penetrated and disclosed; and the narrative of the historian, while it descends, like the Nile, through lengthened tracts of present sterility and ancient renown, pours, like the Nile, the exuberance of its affluence on every object which it can touch, and gives fertility to the rock, and verdure to the desert.

"When such is the work, it is placed beyond the justice or the injustice of criticism; the Christian may have but too often very just reason to complain, the moralist to reprove, the man of taste to censure, even the historical inquirer may be fatigued and irritated by the unseasonable and obscure splendor, through which he is to discover the objects of his research. But the whole is, notwithstanding, such an assemblage of merits, so interesting, and so rare, that the History of the Decline and Fall must always be considered as one of the most extraordinary monuments, that has appeared, of the literary powers of a single mind; and its fame can only perish with the civilization of the world." — Vol. I. pp. 84 – 88.

In concluding our notices of these lectures, we must say that one fault may be charged upon them, which their greatest admirers will find it hard to deny. We here refer to the fact, that many of the histories characterized and recommended for perusal, have now in a great degree been eclipsed by more recent publications; while many books of great reputation and value, which have been given to the world during the last twenty years, are entirely unnoticed. This is especially obvious to us, when our author comes to speak of American History. We are struck with surprise to find a professor lecturing on this subject, who

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apparently has never heard of Sparks, Bancroft, or Prescott; who makes Robertson his main authority; who, in appealing to original sources of information about the Revolution, refers us to Almon's Remembrancer, instead of the documents which have been published by order of the government; who hesitates to speak of the doings of Congress, because its sessions were secret; and almost invariably recommends works now quite superseded, as containing the best accounts of the War of our Independence. But we rejoice to see that his heart was with us, though our books may have failed to reach his eyes. He needed not all the proofs which the American people are heaping up, to convince him that the cause of freedom was sacred. Still one cannot help feeling the deficiency mentioned to be a considerable one; and accordingly we beg leave to suggest that the proposed reprint should be accompanied by a few notes, or an appendix, which may supply it; and thus give an increased value to so excellent a book as we conceive this to be.

An Address, delivered at the Consecration of the Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem, June 14, 1840. By DANIEL APPLETON WHITE. With an Appendix. Salem. 1840.

No sign of an advancing civilization is more striking or more pleasing, than the increased attention which is now given to the provisions made for the burial of our dead. We have been satisfied for too long a period with the slovenly and unsightly grounds, often without fence or wall to protect them from violation, to be seen in almost every village in New England. A people of as warm and deep affections as ever bound the heart to a beloved object, we must have seemed far otherwise to the hasty traveller, as he has passed the bleak hill-side, or bare common without shrub or tree, with its crumbling tombs and leaning head-stones, its crazy fence and fallen walls, where we have been content to lay in the earth and leave in neglect the "pale wrecks" of those living forms we loved so well. It would not, however, be a just judgment, which from such signs should write us down a cold or heartless people. A closer knowledge would show, that although the body had been treated with an apparent rudeness, the memory of the dead has been cherished with as reverent a fondness, with an affection as deep and abiding, if silent and unexpressed, as ever filled the hearts of those, who over the remains of the departed have erected tombs like Hadrian's, or the Pharaohs'. Yet we see not why, if we feel and love, the appropriate sign of such feeling and affection should not be added.

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It is right and best, we are persuaded, that it should be. It would act with a kindly influence upon others, and react usefully upon ourselves. We rejoice that this conviction has already become common; that a new order of things has at length arisen among us, and that while we are lavishing our wealth upon palaces for the living, we are learning to pay a just respect to the dwellings of the dead. May Mount Auburn and Harmony Grove see themselves repeated in every town and village of our land.

The Address of Judge White, if widely circulated, would do much to give direction to the public feeling and taste in any attempt to improve and adorn our burial-grounds. We wish for this reason, that it might be widely circulated. We need not say, with what chaste sobriety of language, and justness of thought, the Address is written. We would rather offer a few paragraphs for the substantial benefit of the reader.

After an appropriate introduction, Judge White says;

"We are strangers and sojourners on the earth, as were all our fathers, and our final resting place here is of deep and universal concern. The feelings most intimately connected with our subject are founded in our nature, and are strengthened and elevated by Christianity. Though, when our earthly house of this tabernacle is dissolved, we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, yet the disposition of our mortal remains on earth is not a matter of indifference. On the contrary, it acquires an unspeakable interest from the sublime truth of Christianity, that this mortal will put on immortality. A feeling of reverence and sympathy for the dead is natural to man, how much more so to the Christian? Departed friends are removed from our sight, but they exist to our affections, they are present to our thoughts and meditations, and we hold a spiritual communion with them which is full of delight. Thus we live with the dead not less than with the living. Our intercourse with them is not wholly cut off at the grave, though there we bid adieu to all of them that was mortal, and consequently there cluster our most tender associations connected with them; there are awakened our fondest recollections; and often, like the affectionate sister of Lazarus, we go to the grave to weep there. How important, then, it is to our best feelings, that the mortal remains of dear relatives and friends should repose not in a place which it is painful to revisit, but in some rural retreat, or sequestered vale, where the troubled spirit may be tranquillized by the peaceful influences of nature, and where grief may derive a solace from indulging her tears of affection.

"Such is always the natural desire of the human heart, uninfluenced by custom or prejudice. Natural sentiment and feeling delight to associate with the memory of loved friends, the retirement and beautiful scenery of nature, and to cover their graves with verdure, and adorn them with garlands and flowers." — pp. 6, 7.

The body of the Address is then devoted to an account of the funeral customs of different nations, closing with a description of

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the spot selected for the Salem Cemetery. The author then returns to the subject touched upon in the passage already quoted, the natural feeling of reverence for the dead.

"Few, I trust, of those philosophers are to be found among us, who are wise above the wisest, affecting to regard as of no consequence what becomes of the body after death. Not so the voice of nature and of God within us. Sacred are the remains of the dead among all people. Touch but a single grave with a sacrilegious hand, and you rouse a feeling of popular indignation scarcely less intense, than if a murder were committed. Such is the feeling, whose germ is implanted in us by our Creator, not for the sake of the dead, not for the perishing body, but for the living soul, — its peace, its comfort, its eternal welfare. The living soul receives a solace from the respect shown to the remains of deceased friends, and is strengthened in all its holiest aspirations and purposes by its sympathies for the dead. Can you imagine a worthier object than the one before us for the appropriation of some portion of our earthly treasures? Recollect the father of the faithful, who poured out his silver like water, to obtain a decent burial place for his dead. Recollect the patriarch Joseph, who, by the munificent funeral of his father, showed that golden dust is not too precious to mingle with that of revered friends. Think of Joseph of Arimathea, whose new sepulchre, hewn out of a rock, was to him the most precious of all his possessions. Think, too, of the example of him, who so signally consecrated this memorable sepulchre, and took from death its sting, and who commended the expense of the very precious ointment poured upon his head, because it was done for his burial." — pp. 24, 25.

We agree entirely and heartily with the author, in the feelings of reverence and affection which he expresses not only for the departed dead, but for the mortal and corruptible body. It was the body we loved, when living, as well as the indwelling spirit; the body as well as the spirit was the curious handiwork of the great Creator; it is as manifested through the body that we think of the living when absent, and remember the dead; it was that we held in our arms and caressed — from it we received the signs of affection, to it we returned them. And when our imaginations follow the departed to their heavenly mansions, we see the same form and feature, by which we knew them here; we see them clothed in that spiritual body, (altered by whatever inconceivable changes, yet presenting essentially the same individual,) which God shall provide. We would therefore not neglect or despise, but honor it, in death. We would lay it in the softest earth, visited by the rays of the rising and the setting sun; we would defend it, even with superstitious care, from violation; the purest marble, or the green turf with its simple head and foot-stones should cover it; flowers should spring around it, shrubs and trees throw over it a grateful shade. And if any should ask why we did so, we should think it enough to reply, The heart was our prompter.

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But we would guard against being thought, from anything we have said, to be the advocates of ostentatious burial. The spirit of ostentation, or a false taste, may render a cemetery, — Mount Auburn, happily, cannot be spoiled, — far more offensive than the bleakest hill-top. Rectangular alleys, and well-graveled walks, and long ranks of sepulchres in even line, may, through their formality and show, prove far less accordant with the feelings and the thoughts called up by death, and bereavement, and sorrow, than even the most neglected grave-yard of the most secluded village. All we ask for is, that in the burial of the dead, there may be no signs of unfeeling neglect. The grave-yards of our towns and villages require but slight alterations or additions to impart to them all the grace we should care to see bestowed. Let the walls be strong and whole, let trees, evergreens, and shrubs be irregularly disposed about, let the monuments erected be of a simple character, let an annual oversight keep all in repair, and we should be better content with them as a quiet home for the dead, and a grateful retreat for the mourner, than with the garish magnificence of Pere la Chaise.

The Appendix to the Address contains many interesting papers, among others, original odes and hymns, sung on the day of the consecration of the grove to the purposes of Christian burial, from which we cannot refrain from selecting, for preservation in our pages, the following hymn, by the Rev. Dr. Flint.

"From thee, O God, our spirits come,
Enshrined in breathing clay,
Mysterious guests, not here at home,
Nor destined long to stay.

"Nature, from her maternal breast,
Nurtures the living frame,
Till summoned hence the stranger guest
Returns to whence it came.

"When of its life-guest dispossess'd,
Th' appointed goal attain'd,
Her bosom folds in dreamless rest,
The form her fruits sustained.

"Be these sequestered haunts, of mound
And slope, of dell and glade,
Approached henceforth, as hallowed ground,
Where life's pale wrecks are laid.

"Yet o'er these wrecks, in loveliness
These scenes shall yearly bloom,
Type of the soul's etherial dress,
Heav'n-wrought beyond the tomb.

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"O why then mourn, that earth to earth,
And dust to dust is given?
'T is but the spirit's second birth,
Its coronal for heaven.

"Though dear the dust, that once was warm
With life the spirit gave,
We doat not on the perished form,
That moulders in the grave.

"We yield the body to its doom,
The dust in dust to lie;
Yet we may deem beside the tomb
The spirit hovering nigh.

"And oft our steps shall linger near,
Till death the veil remove,
And kindred spirits, sunder'd here,
Be join'd in deathless love."

Appendix, p. x. and xi.

The Musical Magazine No. 48. *Boston, Oct.* 24, 1840. *Containing Mr. Eliot's Lecture before the Musical Convention.*

In our notice of Mr. Cleveland's Address, we were not aware that it had first appeared in the Musical Magazine. This we understand to have been the case. We take pleasure in the opportunity to make the statement, as it offers an occasion to recommend to our musical readers a periodical which, from what we have seen and heard of it, well deserves to be circulated in our community. If its numbers are only now and then as interesting, and as valuable to the lovers and performers of music as this which lies before us, it strikes us as very desirable that by the choirs in our country and city churches one or more copies should be taken, circulated among them, and *read*. Much improvement would come from a general perusal by the members of such choirs of discourses like these of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Eliot. Some higher ideas of the nature and power of music, some more correct principles of taste, some juster notions of what constitutes good church music might dawn upon their minds.

The discourse of Mr. Eliot is learned, but perspicuous, and intelligible to every attentive reader. The great principle, which he lays down as his subject, and variously illustrates, is this, that Music cannot convey ideas, but adapts itself to the state of the feelings, and exerts its power to control them. In the two following extracts the reader will find the main theme of the lecture fully presented.

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"Music cannot convey ideas, but adapts itself to the state of the feelings, and is even able, to some extent, to control it. This is the peculiar province, and the highest praise of the art. Whenever a musician attempts to inspire a certain train of thought by music alone, or by his manner of performing it, he steps out of the sphere of possibility, and failure is the only certain result. Adaptation is the merit and the end and aim of music, and whenever the composition or the performance fails to adapt itself to the ideas presented to the mind by other means, it fails to produce the highest effects of art. It may gratify the physical sense, but it will shock the feeling, and offend the understanding. Yet how often is this necessity of a union between sound and sense overlooked, both by composer and performer; and how often, on the other hand, is it overstrained, and the composition or the performance rendered ridiculous by an attempt to eke out the meaning of a phrase by musical intonation, or even to supplant the usual modes of conveying ideas by some musical conceit. If I could suppose it necessary to prove the fact, that musical sounds are not designed to produce ideas, metaphysically speaking, I would ask any man to tell me precisely what was meant by any succession of tones, composed by Mozart, or Rossini, or any of the greatest authors, to which no words were annexed, but which were sung simply to the do, re, mi, of the scale. Who could tell (except from recollection) that it was Figaro, rather than any other lively rogue? Or who could distinguish between the fervent prayer, and the devout thankfulness that might be expressed in similar strains? There would clearly be mirth in the one style, and solemnity in the other; but these are feelings, not ideas; and the charm of the music consists in suitably expressing these feelings.

"Many an organist has set himself down to his instrument with a certain train of ideas in his head, which he has intended to express by his performance. Now supposing his audience to be musical people, and properly attentive, who can doubt that so far from their being confined to the ideas which suggested the music in the mind of the player, there would be as many interpretations of the voluntary as there were listeners?"

"Music, as I have said, is addressed to the feelings. It is the natural, the irresistible expression of many emotions, and its highest power is exhibited when the feelings are excited or soothed by its influence. Not being able to communicate ideas, however, it can only adapt itself to those already existing in the mind, which are suggested from other sources, and are the basis of the feelings to be addressed. These ideas can have their power over the emotions wonderfully increased by combination with suitable melody and harmony; and it is this adaptation which shows the science of the composer, the skill of the performer, and the sublimity, the beauty, the power and the charm of music. Adaptation, correspondence, suitableness, these are the characteristics of good music, and of good performance of it; and the want of them is the mark, the proof, the consummation of the abuse of the art. Music is one of the things that

'by season seasoned are
To their right praise, and true perfection.'

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The problem is — a state of the mind and heart being presupposed, either as existing, or as required to be produced or checked, — to excite, or heighten, or subdue those feelings, by strains of music and a style of performance suitable to this effect. This is the test which must be applied to all vocal music, with its accompaniments, that is intended to produce any powerful impression. It is a rule of easy application, and one which every person of the smallest cultivation of taste is capable of using without apprehension of error. Examples both of failure and success are so abundant as to afford ample opportunity for the exercise of the judgment, and the formation of a habit of prompt decision with regard to any music which is placed before us." — pp. 37 - 40.

We cannot follow Mr. Eliot through his discourse, we only offer further what he says incidentally on church music.

"Much has been said and written on the character of the music which ought to be performed in the church. While some contend that there is but one style admissible to the sacred office, and that the most simple and severe, in which every member of the congregation may participate, others are for admitting every beautiful air, from whatever source it may be derived, and consecrating it by applying sacred words to its performance. Both parties, it seems to me, are in error. It would be very proper to have but one style for church music, and confine ourselves to the simple choral, if there were but one sentiment suited to the holy place. But the variety of expression of the choral is so very limited, that it can scarcely embrace all the feelings which may properly be awakened in the church. Certainly many of those feelings may be addressed in music better suited to strengthen and elevate them. Besides, the perpetual repetition of the very same style would become wearisome to all ears, and particularly disagreeable to the young, who cannot easily be reconciled to such austerity. I have a further objection to this system, if it be considered a necessary part of it, that the whole congregation should join in every hymn. This implies such a perversion of the true design of music, and produces such an appalling confusion of sounds and words, that I am at a loss to imagine how a theory of the kind can find supporters, as it undeniably does, among musical men. In every congregation there must be a large number of persons whose musical attainments are small, or perhaps even less than small, and why should they rashly launch into the practice of an art of which they know nothing? It is only an annoyance to those who know something of it, and of not the slightest benefit to anybody. The notion that one must sing, in order to be affected by music, is one of the strangest into which a musical person ever fell; and that one who cannot sing should attempt it, is stills tranger." — pp. 342, 343.

We cannot but think, however, that the voices of a whole congregation joining in some simple melody, would be generally as effective in regard to mere music, and more so in regard to moral and religious influences, than is commonly experienced from a choir. Mr. Eliot cannot judge from the choir of his own church to those of others. Usually, we can assure him,

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no relief would be so merciful as to be delivered from the crude and tasteless performances of the choir, by the breaking out of a whole congregation in one burst of sound, which, if it could not be called music, would at least be a religious act, while the attempts of the choir are neither. We would rather hear from the voices of a whole congregation the same six tunes from year's end to year's end, such as Old Hundred, St. Martin's, the Judgment Hymn, and others of the same class — which by frequent repetition would at length come to be performed in tolerable harmony — than suffer under the executions of a half-trained, or over-trained and theatrical choir. We cannot so unequivocally condemn music performed by a whole congregation as Mr. Eliot does. It is better to our ear as mere music than that of a poor choir — and most of our choirs are poor — it is far more agreeable to the spirit as a religious act. We assent to Mr. Eliot's position at once, if we can listen to a well instructed choir, such for example as the one to which he alludes in his discourse — that of King's Chapel. The effect of such music — it is the best we ever heard within a church — would, even in a religious point of view, be of a far higher character than we might ever hope to hear from the imperfectly harmonized voices of a multitude, while, as music, no comparison could be instituted. The performances of a choir like this, under the guidance of as correct a taste, almost vie with the other services of the Church, of however high an order they may be, for their power over the worshipper. This leads us to inquire why such music should be so rare? In this choir there are but four or six voices — none remarkable, if we except the female voice, which is full, and rich, but, above all, expressive — accompanied by a well played organ. Here are materials that may be found we should say in almost every congregation in the city, and with the exception of the organ in almost every congregation in the country. What constitutes its superiority? We think it is mainly the prevalence of a just taste — the share that the intellectual and the moral have in the work. Singing is more than singing. If it is not, like preaching, *adapted*, if it accord not with time, and place, and subject, it might as well be anything else; if there be no feeling for these eternal fitnesses and correspondencies, the best voices and the highest science would fail. In this choir the music is generally simple, sometimes elaborate and learned — but always religious. It is always, without fail, *church music*. It never offends against the sacredness of the place, and the service, by a parade of mere execution. It is never fantastic or flighty. If it is sometimes loud, it is never boisterous. Its power is felt for the

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most part, in the quiet, subdued tone which it more commonly takes. It is in a word to its moral qualities, rather than its musical, that it owes its power. In the last it certainly excels; but they would be utterly unavailing without the first. Now it is through an absence of qualities of the first kind that our church music generally fails. We hear good voices, with a proper variety of parts, but there is a want of adaptation of the character of the music to the service; it is too loud and boisterous, or too worldly and theatrical. A little more quietness and sobriety, a little more of a religious character and tone, is all that many of our choirs want to convert them at once into most pleasing and effective instruments in aid of the general objects of the Sabbath and the Church.

A serious obstacle to the existence of these qualities, and, indeed, to the existence of the musical ones also, is to be found, we think, in the perfect mob of performers often admitted into the seats, especially in our country congregations. It must be vastly more difficult to inspire so many with the moral sentiments and expression that should characterize their performances than a less number. Besides, how can from fifteen to fifty sing well together without far more practice than it is possible they should give? How can so many voices be found, moreover, among which there shall not be some of so coarse a texture, or so corrupt a tone and pronunciation, as to injure or destroy the whole effect? One such voice, if perchance a loud one, will spoil a choir. Five or six good voices are enough; to them frequent practice would be quite a possible thing, and we might then look for that unity, precision, and firmness, so essential to good music — qualities, which great and long continued practice can alone impart. It is worth observing too in this relation, that professional singers confine themselves to a comparatively small round of tunes, to which is in great part owing the perfection with which they are performed. The catalogue of the Brothers Hermann, the German singers who were here a few years since, — whose music possessed such unity, that it seemed like a single voice with many tones, — was a very confined one. The Tyrolese Minstrels soon exhaust themselves. The whole life of such performers is devoted to a very small number of pieces. Hence alone the wonderful precision of their movement and the perfection of their harmony. Let it be so in our churches, — and it should be with more reason — and our music would at once improve. Familiarity would give a confidence not to be had otherwise. And why, where a liturgy is heard forever, and the same hymns are read forever, should we apprehend weariness from forever listening to the strains of

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Luther, Handel, or Pleyel? Yet in most of our churches there is a new tune, at least, every Sunday, and a new book once a year.

In the following paragraph of Mr. Eliot's lecture are comprised admirable principles for the guidance of those to whom is committed the management of Church Choirs.

"In answer to the question, what music is proper for the church, I should say, any music which is adapted to aid the sentiments conveyed by the words used in the church. Look through the psalm book, and you will find there a vast variety of feelings expressed, from the most animated and deeply joyful, to the most tender and melancholy, — profound reverence, heartfelt penitence, hope, fear, sympathy, and devotion. Are all these to be heightened or warmed by the somewhat monotonous choral? Surely we can do better than that. We can select music of various character corresponding with that of the words, always taking care that it be of the serious and solemn class, befitting the emotions which belong to the church. Nothing should be admitted of the brisk, fanciful style so much in vogue here half a century ago, when every psalm was a reiterated fugue, falsely so called, and every choir seemed to be scrambling in a confused race. Nor should anything be admitted, which by use has become appropriated to other purposes. None of the popular airs well known at secular concerts, or at theatres, should ever be heard in the church. The association of the music with other words, than those which can be used in church, is formed and cannot be dissevered. Let it alone therefore; it can be spared. But with these reservations, I know not why well adapted music should be excluded from the church. I have, for many years, been in the habit of performing music at my own church, in a great variety of styles, being careful always that it should be serious, appropriate, and not recognised as theatrical, — and I am not aware of any ill consequences arising from the practice." — pp. 344, 345.

A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools; containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes and a Lexicon. Adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles, A. M. By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. 1 vol. 8vo. Hartford, 1840.

While the New-York and Boston presses are engaged in a controversy about the old Greek Reader, our Cambridge friends seem to have settled the question for themselves at least, by a course which, if everywhere pursued in similar cases, we doubt not would prove an effectual damper to such disputes. So far as they are concerned, Professor Anthon and his Boston Re-

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viewer are to be left to mutual demolition; and the teachers of such youths as are in training for Harvard, will be spared the pains of deciding upon the merits of the rival editions of Jacobs. We learn from the Catalogue of that University for the current year, that Professor Felton's Reader is to be the required text-book for admission there after 1842. The good examples of this sort which have hitherto been set by that institution, have seldom been without effect elsewhere. And we believe this one will be pretty generally followed, when the circumstances which called forth the work under review are known, and the merits of the book fairly inquired into and discussed.

The origin of the new compilation is briefly this. A part of the elementary work of Jacobs has, under various guises, now been used as a text-book in this country, for nearly twenty years. No one, we believe, regrets that it superseded the Græca Minora. The standard of scholarship in our Colleges was raised, by requiring the candidates for admission to pass an examination in the former. But the great objections to it could not escape the eye of the most careless observer. We need barely allude to them here. We may mention the character of the extracts as extremely unfitted to help a boy to an acquaintance with pure, classic Greek. Three fourths of the whole book, we should judge, are selected from authors who flourished long after the golden age of Grecian literature; and a full half, from authors of the second, third, fourth, and even fifth centuries after Christ. The American rifacimentos of Jacobs give us fifty lines from Xenophon, seven from Herodotus, and nothing from Thucydides; yet these are undeniably the standard writers of Greek prose. While Strabo, Arrian, Plutarch, Ælian, Diogenes Laertius, and Stobæus make up the bulk of the volume. One feels the dozen pages of Homer at the end, and the paragraphs from really classic prose writers which here and there occur, as but a poor offset to so much that belongs to the period of the decline of Grecian literature. And it must, we think, have struck our young friends with surprise, to learn on entering College that the authors whom they had been required to study were, in general, but comparatively poor authority for the use of the language they were trying to master. But this, or something of the sort, it was their instructer's duty to tell them, so long as the old Greek Reader was the preparatory text-book.

And there are other, and those not slight, objections to the American Editions of Jacobs. The plan of the whole of the earlier portion is exceptionable; for however wise such detached

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sentences may look in their proper connexions, or however amusing such anecdotes might be when told of men whose histories were familiar, the experience of teachers has, we believe, always been, that their pupils prefer to study any other part of the book; and the real state of the case is, that in a manual of two hundred and fifty pages, nearly a hundred are filled up with what boys will not study, nor instructers examine them upon. Add to this, that some dozen editions, hardly any two alike, are before the public; many of them wretchedly printed, and all of them, in some quarter or other, denounced and proscribed; and one will not wonder that a new book of this sort should be asked for by lovers of peace, as well as by the friends of classical education.

Professor Felton seems to have perfectly understood the wants of the case in hand, and in his selections to have met them exactly. The purest and best writers, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Lysias, are the chief sources whence they are drawn. But we are glad to see that no theory in their favor has induced him to slight Lucian, whom we look upon, on the evidence of our own recollections, as the favorite of schoolboys, as well as a delightful companion to men. And we are quite willing that the general principle of the work should be departed from, if our young friends are to have the benefit of his acquaintance. We can see some propriety in assigning such tasks to those who seek an introduction to classic Greek. With all deference to Plutarch, whose writings, and especially the Morals, we prize as one of the richest legacies of antiquity, we beg leave to ask whether the style of the authors above-mentioned is not far prĕferable? And if so, ought not that to settle for us the question under debate?

The poetical selections are equally judicious. First comes an extract from the Odyssey, which contains the story of Polyphemus; then twelve of the Odes of Anacreon, among which we see with pleasure that gem of the whole poetry of Greece, the Ode on Beauty; Sappho, Simonides, and Callistratus furnish a few exquisite verses; Euripides and Aristophanes represent the tragic and comic drama of Greece; and the beautiful epitaph of Bion by Moschus closes the list. It was "the editor's aim to present an adequate specimen of each important branch of that department of Greek literature. He has therefore extended his plan to the dramatic as well as the epic, lyric, and bucolic poetry; and has taken passages, which include both chorus and dialogue, and which, it is hoped, do not present difficulties incapable of being solved by the intelligent and studious scholar." — *Preface*, pp. vii, viii.

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The notes, which are copious, seem to have been prepared with great care; and we should judge would be of real service to the learner; giving him assistance wherever it is needed, and allowing him to depend upon himself where it is not. The value of the work is much increased by the biographical and critical sketches which precede these annotations. A lexicon, in which we are glad to find the derivation and composition of words attended to, as well as some aid in the matter of quantity, concludes the whole. And we know of nothing, except a few slight misprints, which of course will disappear in a new edition, to detract from the merits we have recognised in it.

There is one objection, however, that will probably be brought against the work under review; which is, that the earlier portions are so difficult, as to require considerable proficiency in those who are to study them. This is undoubtedly true. But in the "First Lessons" of Mr. Sophocles, we have just the book which is wanted, to prepare one for its study. And further, it is the praiseworthy purpose of all our Colleges, we believe, certainly it is at Cambridge a fixed determination, to raise the standard of scholarship requisite for admission; and an acquaintance with the new text-book will argue about twice as great an amount of knowledge of Greek, to say nothing here of its quality, as would the study of the compilation it supersedes.

The Memory and Example of the Just. A Sermon, preached on All Saints' Day, to the First Church, by its Minister, N. L. Frothingham. Boston. 1840.

This Discourse, from a minister of the Congregational Church, delivered on All Saints' Day, is among the pleasing signs of the times. It is one among many proofs, that the undiscriminating hostility of the Puritan towards the persecuting Mother is continuing to abate; and that he is every day more willing to look backward, and see if, perchance, together with the superstitions and errors of the Church from which he seceded, and against whose wrongs he protested, he did not reject usages and observances, which a calmer judgment pronounces to be in themselves fit and beautiful, and of excellent service to the cause of religion. It shows, too, that if there are many among us, who not only look with contempt upon the achievements of former ages, but are prompt with a feverish love of change, and a dangerous haste to advance, to abandon, as time-worn and dead, the most cherished institutions of the present day, there are others, who, with a wiser philosophy, are ready to accept whatever promises to be of use to men's virtues, though it be drawn from the very

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bosom of the dark ages. For ourselves, we doubt not that some truths and some customs have been left behind, as the world has moved on, a return to which would as truly give evidence of progress, as adopting on the ground of experiment any novelty whatsoever. Not that among such restorations of good things dropped by the way and forgotten, we should care to see an All Saints' Day brought again into honor, or, still more, days consecrated to particular saints. They are as well left in their present neglect. The righteous dead, the benefactors of their race, are always, without being bidden, freshly remembered by the generations that come after and enter into their labors. There is little need for this, of a set service and a consecrated day. The tendency has ever been to do them too much honor. Ingratitude and neglect are not the besetting sins of the human heart. Besides this, a day set apart to the special commemoration of holy men, places them too nearly on a level with Beings of a higher nature or office, to whom alone are due religious veneration and praise. To such commemoration, however, of the saints of old, as we find in the discourse of Dr. Frothingham, delivered in the course of the customary services of the Sabbath, we can see no objections, but much to recommend it.

But if we have no desire to see All Saints' Day introduced into the calendar of anniversaries, to be religiously observed on a set day, there are other days, we will here say, we could heartily wish were restored to the observance they once received from the whole Christian world, and, still indeed, from all but a very inconsiderable portion of it. We allude to Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter, days which commemorate those great and affecting events in the Christian history, the birth, the death, and the resurrection of Christ. The English Dissenter, the Presbyterian, the New England Puritan, have long agreed in their neglect of these days, full of interest as they are in themselves, and, rightly observed, helpful as they would be, we are persuaded, in the great cause of human improvement. But surely, the time has come, when, if the change should in itself seem desirable, these Churches might, without any apprehension of a new inroad of superstition, turn back and reinstate these venerable anniversaries in all their former honors. We never remember to have conversed with a Christian of our own denomination on the subject, who did not express the wish that Christmas, at least, might be kept with the customary religious services, and the traditionary signs of grateful joy. Yet, but few of our churches are open; and with the mass of our population, the day comes and goes almost without its presence being known or recognised. We trust and believe, that in not many years not only Christmas, but the other

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days we have named, will be gladly entered among the number of our truest Sabbaths, and receive the observance that is due from all who inherit the rich blessings, with which their memory is associated.

Mr. Frothingham, in introducing the thoughts appropriate to the day of All Saints, which are of the past and in the past, is naturally led to speak of those, to whom we have already alluded, and of their movements, who hold in but small reverence the institutions or opinions of the present age, much less those of the ages that are gone, and whose doctrine, in the last analysis, seems to be, that each man's conscience, inward inspiration, or light, is the only authority, by which he is to be bound. These are his words;

"Who need be ashamed to be called an imitator of those who fear God and serve their generation, or a follower in the way that leads to life everlasting? And yet these honest old words, we can hardly deny it, have fallen into some dislike. It is common to listen to a very different kind of instruction, that bids us have little or nothing to do with anything that has gone before us, and exhorts every person to be, in and of himself, the most original person that was ever thought of. It professes to be so fresh from the perpetual fountain of truth, as to be wholly independent of those streams of time, that have flowed for the comfort of all the nations. It would have everything come directly from heaven, or from the soul's own being; and often, as is very natural, it makes but an indistinct difference between the two. It is so jealous of authority, that former beliefs are rendered questionable, by the very circumstance of their having been extended so widely and held so dear. It is so averse from imitation, that it cannot well hear of Christ himself as a model for tempted and suffering man. It is so unwilling to follow, that it mistrusts a foreign guidance, even to 'inherit the promises.' I would not be unjust in my constructions of another's language. I would not, especially, be injurious and assuming towards another's persuasion. But there seems to me a dangerous looseness of thought prevailing among us upon these subjects, and an anarchy of innovation, that call for the close attention and the plain word of those, who acknowledge the value of anything that ancient reverence has established, or who have intertwined their feelings at all with its hallowed associations.

"There is abroad a wild and dislocated mode of speculation, openly seeking to detach itself as much as possible from all former methods; disregarding the institutions that are left standing yet, and the persons that have departed. It is very apt to usurp the name of movement and progress, as if there were no real advancement, or wish for it, but among its own partisans; — as if all the rest of the world were bent on standing still; — as if the proper sign of life were convulsion, and whatever is not a spasm, were a sleep." — pp. 9, 10.

In a note, appended to another passage of the Discourse, in which he speaks of the same philosophers, Mr. Frothingham says, "a manifesto, calling upon the friends of 'universal re-

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form,' to meet and discuss the claims of the Sabbath, the ministry, and the Church, to the respect of the community, has been lately drawn up with a singular confusion of ideas, and published in the newspapers. The slight allusion here made to it is all that the discourse had room for, and may be thought more notice than it deserves." Since this notice was taken of the projected meeting, the "convention," as the meeting was termed, has sat, and adjourned; but to this time no report has appeared of its proceedings. We have little curiosity to see any such report, and should hope that those gentlemen who called the convention would rest satisfied with the discredit they have already brought upon themselves, the religion they profess, and the community in which they live, nor seek to increase it by sending forth to the world an account of discussions, which can have no other effect than to cause a still further alienation in men's minds from the best supports and defences of human virtue. We suppose there is no injustice in saying this, for the very fact of calling such a convention is a sufficient indication of enmity toward the institutions which were to be the subjects of discussion. The language used in the manifesto admits but of the same interpretation. Its spirit is hostile. And we certainly think it discreditable, that a few discontented spirits should publicly summon together the people to discuss the claims of institutions to a common respect, about which there was no more doubt that they were useful, at least, if not of divine warrant and origin, than there was that the sun was in the heavens at noon-day. Why not call a convention to see whether our courts of justice are an institution deserving of public honor, or whether they ought not to be abolished? for these are not perfect institutions, nor do they answer all their ends; whether our public schools and colleges are worthy of support, or whether they ought not rather, because of their manifest imperfections, to be also abolished? Whether the institution of marriage be not an antiquated prejudice, and a slavish bond, and ought not to be abolished? Were it any the less a public insult to call the community together to discuss the validity of institutions like these, than those they did actually hold up to reproach, the Sabbath, the ministry, and the Church? And can any one doubt, whether the laymen, the ministers, and the women, who have, with designs of so questionable a character, discussed these minor institutions and subordinate topics, will, these being passed upon, next call together the same community to discuss the claims of Christianity itself, as a Divine revelation, and of that rock, on which society next reposes, marriage? If so, they have more faith in the self-restraining power of universal reformers, by profession, than ourselves.

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Not that we are the enemies of freedom of speech, but that we love modesty. Not that we are the foes of progress, but that we are the friends of moderation. Not that we would oppose improvement, but that we have no respect for modern Jacobinism. Everything certainly is open to discussion. We would shut no man's mouth. Not only the Sabbath may be disputed, but all law, human and divine. And if any choose to summon conventions for the purpose of such debate, they have a right to do so, and we would defend them in the right. But is such discussion, — we too claim the like freedom of speech, — in such bodies wise, or decent, or profitable? Are popular assemblies a fit tribunal, before which to treat questions, that demand for their consideration the calm and patient research of the student? What should be our judgment of a young man or woman, who, because, upon a few hours' or days' inquiry, he or she harbors a doubt of the divine warrant, or expediency of institutions, with whose foundations successive ages have professed themselves satisfied, comes forward, and on the ground not of any new knowledge or argument, but of his or her intuitions, calls them in question, or boldly denies their validity, and summons society together to do the same? We refuse them not the privilege of doubting, — we refuse them not the privilege of making speeches, we deny them not the right of conventions, but we ask whether there be such a virtue as modesty? whether rashness be a vice?

We are led to doubt, whether reform, progress, still more, universal reform, be a legitimate object for any man or body of men to propose to themselves, if by reform and progress be meant going forward and leaving all that is old, as well as all existing institutions behind, as time-worn and dead, or looking upon them with distrust. By dwelling upon this idea of progress is there not great danger of nursing a spirit of discontent with whatever is, simply because it is — cherishing a morbid desire of change. But whether this be just or not, truth, on the other hand, is a perfectly legitimate object for both individuals and associations to set before them; for then the mind has bound itself within no narrow limits, as in the former case; it has not with a vanity so extreme as to savor of insanity, pronounced the best institutions of the present and the past to be defective or injurious. It leaves itself free to seek for that which is better in every direction, not only in the future, but in the past also. And we apprehend, that progress is sometimes to be made with quite as much certainty by going backwards as forwards. It often happens, we imagine, that in the hurry to advance, valuable truths have been dropped by the way, noble institutions abandoned, which it would be a higher mark of wisdom to go humbly back acknowledging

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our folly and re-adopt, than to march vainly on, bent only on discoveries in the unexplored future. We would, for ourselves, rather enlist under the banners of truth, than under those of universal reform.

Let it not be imagined, because we speak thus, that we observe and acknowledge no defects, confess no apparent impotence in present institutions; feel no disappointment, that the world grows wiser and better no faster, or believe that the Sabbath, and the ministry, and the Church, are all fulfilling, without failure, their several ends. We think and believe no such thing. But what then? Is destruction the most secure road to larger possessions? For some single defect in an instrument, otherwise of admirable use, shall we throw it aside as worthless? The dwelling that has long sheltered and defended us, and which seems ample, and beautiful, and strong, save some few fissures and blemishes time and neglect have inflicted, shall we repair and adorn it, or pull it suddenly down, and that too in such haste as to endanger our burial in the ruins? Why should the people be called together, not, indeed, formally to vote down the Sabbath, but to fill their minds with suspicion and disaffection, to plant jealousies, and hatred, and fears? Were it not better, if these reformers are sincere in their purposes of human improvement, to have cast diligently about, each in his own private sphere, to see how he might turn the Sabbath to a better account, and make it serve, as he thinks it ought, a higher end, and then, when he had made some useful discovery, have called the world together to rejoice with him, and partake the benefit? The united wisdom of these twenty-four men and women will find it difficult, upon discarding the Sabbath, to imagine an institution that shall offer nobler opportunities to the Christian and the philanthropist to carry into effect any moral or spiritual design he may wish for the good of man. The very thing that they would now vote out, that very thing, if their hearts are where we think they are, would they vote in again as soon as the loss was felt. Let them now employ their ingenuity, not in magnifying its imperfections, but in devising new ways of using it aright, and society will improve by the process, as fast as it seems to be the design of Providence it should.

Of the ministry we say, as of the Sabbath, it would not be easy, if we once got rid of it, to devise an institution that would serve as well the best interests of humanity, with as few liabilities to abuse, with as many facilities of a fair, and manly, and wholesome influence upon human character and conduct. Yet, great complaints are heard from our reformers of it. Of the actual working of the institution, of the way in which it is used,

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complaints may be made with reason; but of the institution itself, with not a grain. It is better than the men, who complain of it. The institution is good enough for the men, the men are not equal to the demands of the institution. It is a larger and more powerful instrument than they, many of them, have strength to wield, which is the reason they fail in its service. They often mistake their own weaknesses for those of the institution. This, we doubt not, is the truth in the case. The difficulty lies deeper than any imperfections or superstitions clinging to men's notions of the ministry and its foundations. Preachers are inefficacious not because they preach in churches, from a wooden box called a pulpit, or because the people sit in pews, and pay for them; not because the ministry is in some sort * dependent on the people; not because of any forms observed by this church, or neglected by another; not through any restraint laid on the preacher's utterance, as if he might not say anything of real advantage to the souls of his hearers; but because the genuine spirit of their office is not in themselves, — a spirit of living piety, of simple-hearted dovotion to men's spiritual interests, of renunciation of the world and self. As soon as a minister appears of this character, his labors are effectual, and the institution answers its end. He does not convert the world in a day, nor can he make saints of devils. It was never meant he should; but virtue and piety flourish under his word, in the degree that is natural and human; in the degree that may with reason satisfy the most conscientious and sensitive mind.

We shall sincerely regret the circumstance if this convention ever sit again, for we can imagine no effects but injurious ones ever to follow from their labors. That they have succeeded in alienating many minds from the services of the Sabbath, and from the institution itself, we hear often asserted in conversation. What substitute they have offered to their disciples, as means of promoting personal religion, we have never heard. Their designs may be philanthropic; but we fear they have nothing so good to propose, as what they would deprive us of; no balm so healing, as shall even cure the wounds they have inflicted, much less infuse a health unknown before.

* See "On the Independence of the Clergy" some late editorial articles of great ability in the Christian Register.

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Selections from the American Poets. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 316. 1840.

To no one would the public more willingly confide the task of making a selection from the American Poets, than to Mr. Bryant. A taste and discernment like his were especially needed for the kind of selections he has undertaken, which is a gleaning over the whole field of our poetry, from that, which is to be found in well bound volumes, to what lies broadcast in magazines and newspapers. The present volume is made up of pieces from seventy-eight authors. A collection from a few writers of acknowledged excellence and general fame were a much easier labor. We are particularly pleased with the course he has adopted. Another volume is promised, should the present be well received. We are sorry that anything from Mr. Bryant's hand should pass through the press of the Harpers, whose distinction it is to issue the poorest looking books of the whole trade. There is a compensation in their cheapness, we suppose, with which we ought to rest satisfied. We noticed one or two errors of names; W. O. P. for W. B. O. Peabody; Elizabeth, for Louisa J. Park.

Living for Immortality; delineating the evident Indications of Moral Character, pertaining to the Future State. Being an Introductory Essay to Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. By JOHN FOSTER; Author of Decision of Character. Boston: James Loring. 12mo. pp 216. 1840.

ANOTHER valuable work of this author, from the press of James Loring. The learned and elaborate elegance of Foster, although not calculated for popular reading, will prove effective with a different class, who would turn away offended from Doddridge, and even from Fenelon. This book has its place, and an important one, too, in a library of practical divinity. It matters little what the sectarian faith of a writer is, whose *religion* is warm and earnest as Foster's.

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P. 311, nineteenth line from top, for course read cause.

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